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of books on Local Government

Edited by W Ivor Jennings, M-A , LL D.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW
READER IN ENGLISH LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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The Local Government
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THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICER

by

L HILL

*General Secretary, National
Association of Local
Government Officers*

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General Introduction to the Series

THE general problems of the organization of local government have been fully discussed in such books as Dr. Robson's *The Development of Local Government*.¹ What is now wanted is a series of fairly small books discussing (1) the special problems of specific kinds of authorities and (2) the problems raised by the various local services.

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¹ London George Allen & Unwin Ltd

The Local Government Officer

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Introduction

THOUGH the local government officer is now a very important person, he is quite a modern innovation. The first paid officers of the modern kind were the poor law officials appointed under the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. Before that the boroughs, the oldest units of local government, often had paid officers. The thirteenth century saw the creation of the office of Chamberlain of the City of London, and the borough corporations had their town clerks, who were paid out of the corporate property, fees for markets, and the like. At the same time, many of the duties which are to-day carried out by officers of the local authorities were entrusted to the Mayors and Aldermen. "In the market the Mayor reigned supreme. Here, as 'Clarke of the Market' and the representative of the Crown, he declared the 'assize' or price at which controlled goods could be sold, and on him rested the responsibility of maintaining every condition that made for good market. At the beginning of his term of office he took oath and swore 'well and faithfully to serve the Queen's Magestie in the office of Clarke within the borough of . . . and without fear, reward or favour, shall execute and exercise the same during the time I shall be Clarke of the Market thereof' "¹

¹ J. H. Thomas, *Town Government in the Sixteenth Century* (George Allen & Unwin).

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Outside the boroughs, too, such local government as there was was carried on by unpaid officers. From very early times its essential function was that of the preservation of the peace, and little more was required outside the chartered towns. This function was undertaken in the shires by the shire reeve or sheriff, and in the vills by the reeve and four men who represented the vill in the hundred moot. By 1086 the sheriff was the head of the royal and public reeves of the shire; he was responsible to the King for the collection of the royal revenues; he or his bailiff presided over the hundred court; he controlled the rudimentary police system through his "tourn"; and he executed the King's writs and carried out the judgments of the King's courts. He was, however, too great a local potentate to be left in control; and from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards functions of government were vested in the justices of the peace—still unpaid officials—who controlled the high and petty constables, also unpaid, and ordered the men of the parish to repair the roads and the men of the county to repair the bridges where the obligation was vested in "the inhabitants at large." There is evidence that on occasions even a rate had to be levied; for it is on record that in 1256 a sum of £20 19s 2d. was collected from the County of Chester for the repair of Chester Bridge, "because the King has ascertained from the book of the Exchequer called

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Domesday that the men of the county were bound to repair the bridge."

That some of the work involved the payment of salaries, or at least of fees, is obvious. The justices required at least a solicitor to do their legal work. "What usually happened," say Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "was that the titular Clerk of the Peace appointed as his deputy . . . one of the leading solicitors in the county town who undertook the whole of the work . . . we find in practice the post of the Deputy Clerk of the Peace held, almost as an hereditary possession, by the principal firm of solicitors . . . The payment of a fixed salary to the County Surveyor or Bridgemaster remained . . . right down to the end of the eighteenth century most unusual. Not until the latter part of the eighteenth century, and then only in the more advanced counties, do we find a complete separation of the functions of the County Surveyor and the contractor"¹

Even when the Poor Law system was laid down in the legislation of 1597-1601, and the poor rate thus established, the functions of relieving the poor and collecting the poor rate were vested in the churchwardens and unpaid overseers of the poor; and if paid assistant overseers were appointed the responsibility rested with the unpaid and, often,

¹ S & B Webb, *English Local Government The Parish and the County* (Longmans, Green & Co.)

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unwilling overseers. Here, too, the latter part of the eighteenth century saw developments, and the creation of "workhouses" compelled the appointment of a paid staff.

With the period after the Reform Act there was a gradual development of a paid local government service. The Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834, led the way, and numerous relieving officers, medical officers, nurses, masters of workhouses, and other officers had to be appointed. The problem in the towns was not to secure paid officers, but to see that they did some work for their emolument. As the Royal Commission reported in 1835

The salaries of the corporate officers in a great many instances are not at all commensurate with their duties. The allowance to the chief official is often very large, and it is well understood that he is to expend it in private entertainments. The practice of having periodical dinners and entertainments for the members of the common council and their friends, the cost of which is defrayed out of the corporate funds, prevails almost universally.

By the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 these funds were diverted to public purposes, and the salaries of officers, now appointed in order that those purposes might be carried out, were made a first charge.

With the Act of 1835 came, too, the paid police forces for the towns; and similar bodies were created for the counties in 1839. Public health functions, so far as they were exercised at all, were vested in

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improvement commissioners and other bodies authorized by local Acts, but general legislation from 1848 onwards resulted in the creation of a general paid staff.

The training (or the absence of training) of those whom we may call our administrative ancestors was responsible for the abuse or misdirection of their authority, and we must register their shortcomings.

For many centuries the government of the people of these islands was divided between state and church. The state was hideously cruel in its efforts to repress wrong-doing, the gallows were at every man's door, and because the penalty—death—was the same for stealing a chicken or taking a neighbour's life, recklessness gave rise to the saying "as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb." The church was more lenient, but that leniency only led to abuse because it provided "funk-holes" for criminals.

The sheriff in course of time so misused his powers that measures were taken to lessen his authority.

In the sixteenth century a vigorous protest was raised against the mayor of Canterbury becoming a brewer at the end of his year of office because "other persons after becoming mayor had lived like gentlemen."

The self-selected few who governed the chartered towns brought the first experiments in "local government" to such a state that we are told on authority, "the existing municipal corporations of England

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and Wales neither possess nor deserve the confidence and respect of Your Majesty's subjects and that a thorough reform must be effected before they can become, what we humbly submit to Your Majesty they ought to be, useful and efficient instruments of local government. It has become customary not to rely on the municipal corporations for exercising the powers incident to good municipal government. The powers granted by local Acts of Parliament for various purposes have been from time to time conferred not upon the municipal officers, but upon trustees or commissioners, distinct from them; so that often the Corporations have hardly any duties to perform. They have the nominal government of the town; but the efficient duties, and the responsibility, have been transferred to other hands' ”¹

There is an interesting story in the historical evolution of the local government officer for anyone who has the inclination to write it, but it does not come within the scope of this book.

With the march of time and the creation of a nation came the evolution of an administrative system. Taxes have been collected throughout the ages, in the first instance for defence or conquest. It was when a portion of those taxes was devoted to local or social purposes that the first principles of local government were established. From the granting of the first charter, central and local respon-

¹ Royal Commission on Municipal Corporations, 1834

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sibilities took different courses, and in due time there emerged two distinct classes of officers—the civil service and the local government service.

As in the case of all British institutions the place and the work of the local government officer have emerged by a gradual process of evolution; they have not been consciously created.

It was towards the end of the eighteenth century that the inadequacy of the old standards became apparent. More than that, their ineffectiveness was rapidly becoming a menace. The story is told in the four volumes of evidence and the Report of the Royal Commission on Municipal Corporations published in 1834. The foundations of the present plan of dividing the country into local government areas were laid by the Municipal Corporations Act, 1835. From that year and for nearly a century, Parliament created a number of types of local authorities and in time abolished others. It experimented with administrative areas and *ad hoc* bodies functioning for specific purposes. In addition, Parliament, never doubting the ability of local government authorities to carry additional burdens, passed innumerable enactments authorizing them to undertake further responsibilities, and it did so without giving any serious thought to the question whether the system was equal to the task. The authorities were left to devise their own administrative plans and appoint such officers as they thought fit to

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carry out the work. During the present century, however, the tendency has been to condense local government administration into four main groups of authorities—the county councils, boroughs, urban and rural district councils.

During the present century functions have been transferred, *ad hoc* bodies abolished and areas rearranged on a scale which has equalled the measure of the multiplicity of authorities during the last century.

We must, then, accept the functions of the local government officer to-day as the inevitable consequences emerging from a series of governmental efforts to meet the changing standards of living brought about by what we like to call civilization. There can be very little doubt that human beings have been subjected to varying degrees of "officialdom" from the time when men and women first herded together in groups to fight the forces of nature, and that as we have progressed towards the present highly complicated and complex system of city and town life the position of the official has become more clearly defined. At one time the duties were so light that the amateur or elected person could do them, but to-day they mean both a profession and a career.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT. OFFICER

CHAPTER I

The Council and the Officer

"The best form of government is government by the best men"—

PLATO

THERE are no paid officers in local government who are directly elected by the votes of the people, or nominated by the central government. The councillors represent the ratepayers, are elected by the votes of the ratepayers, and receive no remuneration for the services which they render to the town. The mayors and aldermen are chosen by their colleagues on the council, and although many mayors receive allowances towards the expenses of their office, such as entertaining, that is not regarded in any way as a salary. In fact, most of the mayors spend quite a sum of their own money on entertaining and in subscriptions to charities. The council (the elected body) is responsible for the policy of local administration, whilst the salaried staff is the executive. The councillor may be said "to have no individual

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or separate existence other than as a constituent part or unit of the corporate body to which he belongs." He cannot, in other words, give any instructions to the officers of the authority, unless the power has been delegated to him by the council; he is not entitled to visit and inspect any of the local authority's works, unless he is so directed by or receives permission from the council; and these limitations apply even to the chairman of a committee.

The officer, on the other hand, is responsible for carrying out the decisions of the council; he is not responsible for the determination of policy; his functions as an expert are limited to those of advice and explanation, not criticism. Although he is not bound to do so, it frequently happens that an officer may advise a councillor on the working of a notice of motion or amendment and it also frequently happens that, at the request of an individual councillor, an officer may give him the benefit of his knowledge and advice.

Although there is a clear definition of the legal positions of councillors and of officers, there is a common-sense interpretation of their respective spheres and co-operation and goodwill on both sides, which is better than all the law.

When we are trying to measure the gains and losses caused by the growth of local government we must certainly put on the side of our gains the

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opportunity which the expansion of local government has given to a large number of citizens to partake in the administration of the affairs of the community. "Service to the people of this country," once said Earl Baldwin, when he was Prime Minister, "is a tradition, it is in our bones, and we have to do it."

Local government is much nearer home than Central government, its range of activities is wide, the interests are varied enough to suit all tastes; and it need not be associated in any way with party politics. Consequently, it offers scope for rendering service to the community by many people who would not look at parliamentary work. At the same time, for anyone with an eye on St. Stephen's, local government is the very best nursery. Support for this view has been forthcoming from Viscount Elmley, Member of Parliament for Norfolk East, who concluded a recent letter to the Press by saying, "So long ago as 1934, two eminent Members of Parliament—Sir Henry Jackson, Bart., and Sir William Jenkins—both stressed the fact that experience of a town council was the best experience for service in the House of Commons and no doubt, should he seek Parliamentary honours, he will remember that he has been initiated in the conduct of public business by virtue of his membership of the 'Mother of Parliaments'—in other words, his local authority."

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Local government is also the nearest thing to democracy we are likely to get. For some it moves too slowly, for others it goes too far, but if we really want democratic government we must put up with its disadvantages as well as its advantages. Again, we must remember, that some things in local government are outside the control of either the councillor or the officer.

The ebb and flow of Parliamentary legislation concerning local government is one. Within the local authority's council chamber, there is the varying *tempo* of enthusiasm for things to be done. This is often affected by the transfer of control from one party to another as the result of a local government election. It is just as well to remember at such times that the horse-power of the local government machine is statutory. When the officer draws the attention of the enthusiast to the limits of authority he must not be suspected of being in opposition to the policy enunciated. When the officer urges more speed and greater activity, he may be responding to demands from Whitehall, and not giving his personal convictions. The man in a hurry causes most of the suspicion and misunderstanding. Let me quote here from what I think is the most momentous document issued in America since the Declaration of Independence. Government as an institution, it says, "stands across the path of those who mistakenly assert that democracy must

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fail because it can neither decide promptly nor act vigorously."¹

Anyone who calls local government a bureaucracy is committing a wilful disservice. A bureaucracy "is a system of governmental functioning in which, as a matter of fact, the politically irresponsible department and bureau staffs, rather than the elected representatives of the people determine major public policy. It is nominally responsible government which is out of responsible control. A bureaucracy fixes its own policies to suit itself, and thus, generally, to keep itself in power. It is often characterized by insolence of office, the desire for further power, great impatience with the ordinary man, and colossal incapacity to appreciate fundamental social and economic changes and the popular desires and needs springing therefrom."²

Local government as we know it to-day is a representative system, and, in addition, if a local authority exceeds its powers, a remedy can be found through the Law Courts. Here we have a valued safeguard. Whilst our system of justice applies the same laws to officials, to councillors, and to the public, through the same Courts, there can be no fear of a bureaucracy. We are fortunate in finding ourselves without either a bureaucracy or a spoils system in our public

¹ Report of the President's Committee on "Administrative Management in the Government of the United States," January, 1937 (U S A Printing Office, Washington, D C)

² *Better Government Personnel* (McGraw-Hill Book Co), p 58

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services, considering that it has developed to its present form without any preconceived plan, and in spite of a deep-rooted and natural objection to control

Whilst a county, town, urban, or rural council is responsible for the policy of administration as a whole, the details of administration are broken down into a series of departments. The members of a council after their election divide themselves into committees corresponding with the number of departments and sub-departments. There is no rule governing this point—each local authority creates departments to suit its own requirements or its own idea of organization. The number of separate departments varies with the size of the authority and correspondingly to the number of committees appointed by the council. Moreover, the range of functions of each department is not always uniform throughout the service.

The table on pp. 26–27 will give a general idea of the departmental layout of differing types of authorities.

It will be noted that under the smaller authorities the work is grouped into not more than three or four departments, especially where the local authority does not conduct such trading activities as transport, gas, water, and electricity. Sometimes this limitation of the number of departments adds to the variety of the work coming within the expe-

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rience of those employed, while sometimes the work in departments of large authorities tends to be sectionalized.

The chairman of each committee is responsible to the council and the public for the decisions and policy of his committee, and tribute should be paid to the ability and conscientiousness of a large number of citizens who accept this responsibility. Chairmen as a general rule put forward their reports with the same enthusiasm that they would in conducting their own private concerns. Men in a comparatively small way of business often find that local government gives them scope for large scale administration, and greater freedom to exercise a natural ability, which their own smaller scale and private occupations deny them.

It is a significant feature of local government that the chairman of a committee gives his best to local government development schemes which, by their very nature, are often contrary to his personal economic philosophy, especially if he is engaged in private enterprise.

The work of each department is carried out by a chief officer, a number of principal assistants, and a staff. These officers can be divided into the professional or technical officers and the "lay" or administrative and clerical staff.

The head of the department is responsible for making reports and giving advice to his committee,

ANALYSIS OF DEPARTMENTS

Manchester C.B. Population 730,307	Hampstead M.B. Population 86,153	Keighley B. Population 41,942	Barton-upon- Irwell R.D.C. Population 10,110	<i>The Local Government Officer</i>
Clerk's	Clerk's	Clerk's	Clerk's	
Public Assistance	—	—	—	
Stationery	—	—	—	
Court of Record	—	—	—	
Treasurer's	Treasurer's	Treasurer's	Treasurer's	
Rating and Valuation	—	—	—	
Health	Health	Health	Health	
—	—	—	—	
Education	—	Education	—	
Libraries	Libraries	Libraries	—	<i>The Council and the Officer</i>
Art Gallery	—	Museum	—	
Engineer's	Engineer's	Engineer's	—	
Surveyor's	—	—	Surveyor's	
Estates	—	—	—	
Architect's	—	Architect's	—	
Cleansing	—	—	Sanitary	
Buildings	—	—	—	
Rivers	—	—	—	
Baths	Baths	Baths	—	
—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	
Gas	—	Gas	—	
Electricity	Electricity	Electricity	—	
Water	—	Water	—	
Transport	—	Transport	—	
Watch	—	—	—	
—	—	Fire Brigade	—	
Market	—	—	—	
Weights and Measures	—	—	—	
Parks and Cemeteries	Cemetery	Parks, Cemeteries, and Allotments	—	

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and except in legal matters, with which the town clerk deals, and the financial questions, with which the borough treasurer deals, he is the sole adviser of the committee. It is because of this system that heads of departments hold professional or technical qualifications, and are not appointed as administrators like the principal officers of civil service departments. On the other hand, local government heads of departments must acquire a considerable amount of administrative ability to hold their positions effectively, but this they usually get by experience.

It is to the credit of the members of the various local authority councils that even during the last century they voluntarily appointed men and women officers with the professional or technical qualifications suitable to each department. This practice became general mainly because the persons elected by the ratepayers of the town were men of business, integrity and high social standing, who realized the importance of having properly qualified officials to carry out their policy with efficiency and skill. Common sense and common practice therefore laid the foundations of a career service in the very beginnings of our modern system of local government.

The strict departmentalization of local government does not mean that there is an absence of co-ordination. As no local authority can do anything for which it has no statutory authority, it follows that every department must at times be

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advised on legal and statutory questions. That requirement has produced the general practice of appointing a lawyer as town clerk. He is recognized as the principal officer of the authority and by virtue of the legal nexus he has become recognized as the administrative head. He is in close touch with the work of every department, and he is constantly in consultation with the heads of departments and chairmen of committees. He must advise the council on what it can do and what it cannot do.

The cost of departmental activity must bear relation to the total amount which has been budgeted for during the financial year, and in this sense the main financial artery runs from the borough treasurer's department into all the other departments and sub-departments. There is, therefore, a degree of financial control, in some towns complete and in others less so. Therefore the finance officer acts in this sense as general adviser.

The relationship of the Council to the paid staff is similar to that of a board of directors and the administrators and workpeople of a large industry. The Council, therefore, is the employer. It is begging the question to say that "The Ratepayers" are the employers, although I am afraid that bogey is too often used by men who are not big enough for the task which they have undertaken, or want to shirk a responsibility which they tacitly accepted when they offered themselves for election.

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The responsibility of an employer who has the welfare of an important group of workers in his keeping is difficult enough under ordinary circumstances, but when the extent and often the speed of execution of the "business" are controlled elsewhere, as in the case in local government, the task is made more difficult. So much of local government is determined to-day by the Government under the control of Parliament that the "employer" is becoming more and more dependent upon the "expert" official. A change in the political colour of the Government of the day may change the *tempo* of local government administration. Again, the growing tendency to elect councils on party political tickets is not making easier the work of the officer. Few people can hide completely their private political leanings, those who have a definite political bias can seldom keep it to themselves, consequently a public servant who may disclose such a bias is sure to be suspect by one party or another. In this respect the local government officer is placed in a more delicate situation than his prototype in the civil service or in business. The private political views of the civil servant can be exercised without the same fear of his "employers" knowing his convictions. In business, the employers are not appointed on political grounds, and so long as the business is progressing, they care little about the politics of their employees. In local government the employers

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(the members of the council) are often elected on party lines and, like the employers in the business world, they are in close touch with the officials, and actually decide their salaries and service conditions.

It is most essential, therefore, that the local government officer should show no political bias in his work, and that he should give his best services to those who are elected to the council for the time being. No employer should expect more than whole-hearted co-operation and the efficient execution of his decisions. No employee or official should give less.

CHAPTER II

Service Conditions

You pay for work, but you invest in brains
With apologies to the Austin Motor Co.

ARISTOTLE believed that the best public officers would be obtained by throwing the positions open to all citizens, who should be appointed without pay. His theory was that such a system would confine the appointments to the well-to-do, who alone could afford the time to devote to the responsible positions in the public services. The theory was defended on the grounds that men of wealth in a more or less democratic society were more likely to be men of good birth, better educated, and consequently more eligible to hold public office.

Jeremy Bentham, our own great political philosopher, did not go quite so far, but he did believe in low salaries. Bentham's idea was to secure men who were prepared to devote themselves to the civil service in order to satisfy an ideal of public trust and not for the monetary value of the office. He was also familiar with the practices in earlier days of selling offices for fabulous sums, of obtaining exorbitant fees for insignificant services, or of "par-

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selling out the property of the public among the nominees of kings and ministers”

The legacy of low salaries which has been inherited from Jeremy Bentham should not obsess our minds to the exclusion of his philosophy. Bentham knew only the misuse of trust for mercenary motives and sought to preserve the ideal by removing the temptation. The idea of making the public service a career occupation had not then emerged. The modern Bentham realizes that by the recognition of ability rather than the office. It is to-day necessary to remove the temptation of more lucrative occupation by offering the public servant adequate and compensating service conditions. The salary is the first and most important part of an officer's service conditions. Although there is no national scale, there is a “strong resemblance” running through the pay sheets, and from amongst a large number of returns, scales which are actually being paid to-day and which are as representative as anything can be, are given in *Appendix I*.

Salary scales are essential. They are the guarantee of a fair deal offered to those who are asked to consider entering local government as a career. If the scales are not as good as those offered by banks, the civil service, insurance offices, also commercial houses, then we must not complain if these get the cream of the nation's youth. Further, the salaries of local government officers must not be

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banded about in public any more than incomes of persons in insurance or private practice. Both points have official endorsement:

In their Final Report the Royal Commission on Local Government made the following recommendation (p 160) "It would be desirable for local authorities to consider by what procedure the publicity given to the invidious discussions of personalities in connection with questions relating to salaries and promotion of individual officers might be minimized." They also state (p 148) "We are impressed by the fact that this question has been raised not only by representatives of local government officers, but by representatives of local authorities who, without any desire to limit proper public discussion of the expenditure of public money on salaries, strongly deprecate public debate upon the salary and promotion of individual officers. It is clear that the publicity given to invidious discussions of personalities may have very detrimental effects upon the service, and it would be desirable for local authorities to consider by what procedure this might be minimized."

The Minister takes this opportunity of bringing this recommendation to the notice of all local authorities. The work of local authorities, whether regarded from the point of view of money or from that of the well-being of the community, is now so important as to make it increasingly necessary to attract to it the ablest men. This will not be achieved if there is public debate on the salaries to be paid to particular officers. No one likes to have the question of his remuneration banded about in public debate, and men who should be drawn into the service may refrain from entering it if they are to be subject to this disability.

The Minister therefore urges every local authority to follow the recommendation of the Royal Commission, which it can do without in the slightest degree relaxing control.

In this connection, the Minister would also press on local authorities that, instead of considering increase of salaries in

Service Conditions

each individual case (other than in exceptional circumstances), they should adopt definite scales, the whole staff being organized in appropriate classes. This is usually far the better plan, the whole field of the local authorities' service can then be more fully surveyed with such periodical review as may be necessary, and the work is likely to be better organized ¹

Generally speaking the lower grade salary scales in local government are lower than those which apply to the Civil Service, but the highest salaries are much better. Seventy per cent of all local government officers receive no more than £260 per annum; 22 per cent receive between £260 and £450 per annum. That fact may be an uncomfortable piece of news for those who want to believe otherwise, and it is all the more important when one realizes that in local government the "works" are brains and not machinery. Salaries and wages must always be a big item in any business which depends more upon man power than mechanical power. The health of the people cannot be protected, nor children be educated, by machinery. If that were possible, the "business man" would say that it should be done by the best plant. The argument is just as sound when it concerns personnel. The "Hadow" Committee wants the best material to make local government a career service. That material will only be attracted by adequate service conditions. These need not be *all salary*. Service conditions mean salary,

¹ *Eleventh Annual Report of the Ministry of Health, 1929-30* (pp. 135-136)

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superannuation, security, prestige, as well as details like holidays, sick-leave, etc. Those qualities referred to in another chapter are the attributes of the best type of public servant, and he is not generally the type attracted solely by remuneration. The "Hadow"¹ idea that local government should recruit more graduates from our universities must be considered in relation to this point. Can local government offer the same "compensation" to the university "honours-man" as the Civil Service?

The prestige which goes with a high administrative position in the Civil Service serves to compensate the holder of such an office for the lack of remuneration which his ability would command in commerce or business. It is admitted that the total remuneration of many local government officers exceeds that of the principal officers of state departments. That is the result in many instances of legislation which has imposed from time to time new and exacting responsibilities upon office holders which have carried with them additional remuneration. But the tendency is now to consolidate these offices and to pay inclusive salaries. This constant bedding-down of responsibility is affecting the total amount of remuneration, but at the same time is in no way reducing the standard of the officers'

¹ Report of the Departmental Committee on Qualifications, Recruitment, Training and Promotion of Local Government Officers (32-306)

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qualifications and administrative ability. Practically all the advocates of reform in the system of staffing local authorities lean towards an equation of the conditions governing the selection and qualities of the civil servant and the local government officer. But no one has attempted to value the general practice of conferring "honours" on civil servants. A more generous recognition of the public service rendered by local government officers would play an important part in the elevation of the status and prestige of local government.

A more or less general picture of the service conditions in local government is given in *Appendix 2*. This chart represents the result of answers to a questionnaire returned by over seven hundred local authorities, including the majority of the larger ones.

Employment under a local authority is in practice similar to employment in other large-scale operations. It is somewhere between Bentham's theory and the mother's description to a neighbour when her boy got a junior position at the Town Hall. "He's got a job for life and a pension afterwards," she proudly explained. Only those appointments mentioned in the chapter on "Recruitment and Training" are protected by any kind of official or central authority. All the rest of the officers are subject to the terms of their appointment, which means as a rule "a month's notice on either side."

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This ordinary and, everyday piece of employment decency was not made general until 1933. Before the passing of the Local Government Act, 1933, quite an important section of the staff had no more security of tenure of office than "employment during the pleasure of the Council," a condition laid down in the Public Health Act, 1875 (Section 189), and that was "the law" until it was altered by Section 121 of the Local Government Act, 1933, which reads:

(1) Notwithstanding any provision in this Act or any other enactment that a person holding any office shall hold the office during the pleasure of a local authority, there may be included in the terms on which he holds the office a provision that the appointment shall not be terminated by either party without giving to the other party such reasonable notice as may be agreed, and where, at the commencement of this Act, an officer of a local authority holds office upon terms which purport to include such a provision, that provision shall, as from the commencement of this Act, be deemed to be valid

(2) A provision in this Act or any other enactment that a person holding any office shall hold the office during the pleasure of a local authority shall not affect any right or obligation of the officer to retire on attaining any specified age or on the happening of any specified event in pursuance of any enactment or scheme relating to the superannuation allowance which is applicable to the officer

SUPERANNUATION

Strange as it may seem, no local government authority prior to 1922 possessed the power to grant pensions to its employees unless it obtained Parliamentary sanction for the purpose through a

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Private Bill. Rather less than forty local authorities had set up superannuation schemes by this method when the Local Government and Other Officers' Superannuation Act was passed in 1922. The Act was adoptive and conferred on all local authorities the right to set up superannuation funds, but conferred no rights on their officers unless the local authorities agreed by a two-thirds majority to adopt the Act and named the posts to be included in the scheme. The officers were given no option to 'contract out' and contributions to the Superannuation Fund could legally be deducted from their salaries. On the other hand it gave power to the local authorities to include certain officers and exclude other officers on any pretext whatever. It is only fair to say that the large majority of local authorities exercised their powers quite fairly in the interests of all their officers.

A novel feature of the Act was that which enabled an officer or servant, in transferring from one local authority which had adopted the Act to another such authority, to carry with him the superannuation rights which had already accrued to him by reason of his previous service. Where an officer or servant transferred from an established post in the service of one local authority, with the consent of that authority, and, within six months of leaving its service, secured an established post in the service of another local authority, the local authority from

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which he transferred was to pay to the second local authority a "transfer value" ascertained in accordance with rules made for the purpose by the Minister of Health. As soon as that payment had been made, the transferring officer was entitled to all the rights in respect of his service before the date of transfer, which he would have had if that service had been exclusively with the local authority to whom he had transferred.

By the end of 1936 some 345,000 employees had been brought under the provisions of the Act of 1922, leaving approximately 20,000 officers unprovided for. This position created anomalies detrimental to the authorities, to the officers, and to the efficiency of the local government service, since it restricted the movement of officers from one authority to another and narrowed the field of choice for those authorities without pension schemes.

In the meantime, the Local Government Act of 1929 had been passed and this measure, among other things, had transferred the Poor Law administration from *ad hoc* authorities to County and County Borough Councils. The employees so transferred had all been covered by superannuation schemes under the Act of 1896, and although their positions were safeguarded they found themselves working side by side with officers for whom no such provision had been made and the position was chaotic.

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The Local Government Superannuation Acts, 1937, now govern the situation as regards the future. There were two Acts, one for England and Wales and the other for Scotland. Both received Royal Assent on July 30, 1937. The former Act will come into operation on April 1, 1939, and the Scottish Act on May 16, 1939. Both Acts follow largely the Act of 1922 which they replace, with one or two notable improvements. It is possible under the 1937 Act for an officer to take his pension jointly with his wife by accepting a reduced pension on retirement, part of which would continue payable to his widow in the event of his death. Pension is calculated on the average salary for the last five years of service at one-sixtieth for each year of contributory service and one-one hundred and twentieth for each year of non-contributory service. Power is given to the employing authority to increase the basis of calculation for non-contributory service up to the full rate. The Act of 1937, in addition, gives an option to the retiring officer, where the local authority does not use its powers generously, to pay additional sums into the superannuation fund in order to acquire the right to receive a pension up to but not exceeding forty-sixtieths of salary.

Officers who come under the 1922 Act contribute 5 per cent of their salary to the superannuation fund, but those who come under the 1937 Acts will contribute 6 per cent. There are special rates of con-

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tributions for Poor Law employees transferred under the Local Government Act, 1929.

The Act of 1922 contains no provisions relating to persons holding a joint appointment. The new Act also provides that where one of the holders of a joint appointment ceases to hold his appointment and the appointment of the other is thereby determined, then that other, if he is a contributory employee and has attained the age of fifty or completed twenty years' service, shall be entitled to a superannuation allowance according to scale.

This provision does not, however, apply where a joint appointment of spouses is determined in consequence of the misconduct of one of them.

The 1937 Act provides for female nurses, midwives, and health visitors the option of retiring at fifty-five, or at any age between fifty-five and sixty, provided each has thirty years service to her credit.

In the case of an officer transferring from the local government service to the Unemployment Assistance Board (the Civil Service), the Unemployment Act, 1934, provides for two pensions to be paid, one from the local authority which he was serving at the time of his appointment to the Unemployment Assistance Board, if that authority had a pension scheme in operation, and the other from the government if still in the service of the government at the pensionable age. This Act and the Superannuation Act, 1935, are the only provisions for

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retaining superannuation rights when an officer transfers from the local government service to the Civil Service, and the best one can say of them is that they are very half-hearted arrangements. Some day we shall see the wisdom of interchangeability between all sections of the public services and the carry forward principle concerning superannuation.

The general Acts relating to the superannuation of persons in sections of the local government service, not covered by the Local Government Superannuation Acts of 1937, are

Elementary School Teachers (Superannuation)

Act, 1898,

Probationers' Offenders Act, 1907;

Teachers (Superannuation) Acts, 1925 and 1937;

Police Pensions Act, 1921,

Fire Brigade Pensions Acts, 1925 and 1929;

Asylums Officers' Superannuation Act, 1909;

Asylums and Certified Institutions (Officers Pensions) Act, 1918;

Local Government (Clerks) Act, 1931;

Poor Law Officers' Superannuation Act, 1896.

(Repealed subject to preservation of existing superannuation rights).

Unemployment Act, 1934	{	Contain provisions in case of interchange between the Civil Service and the Local Government Service.
Superannuation Act, 1935		

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NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

Unless a local authority obtains a certificate of exception under Part II of the First Schedule of the National Health Insurance Act, 1936, all local government officers between the ages of sixteen and sixty-five years, with a salary not exceeding £250 per annum are insurable under the National Health and the Widows', Orphans' and Old Age Contributory Pensions Acts, 1936. Those with salaries exceeding £250 per annum who have previously been in insurable employment for the requisite period can, of course, remain insured as Voluntary Contributors regardless of salary or income. The advantage of a certificate of exception is doubted by many, and "on principle" many authorities have refused to seek exception, believing that any national scheme of social insurance is weakened by the exclusion of what are regarded in insurance jargon as "good lives." To obtain a certificate of exception, a local authority must satisfy the Minister of Health that the equivalent benefits of insurance are guaranteed in the service conditions of the officers. In this connection it is not easy for a local authority without a superannuation scheme to provide the equivalent of "disablement benefit," but of course this disadvantage will go when the Local Government Superannuation Acts, 1937, come into operation in April and May 1939.

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The passing of the Widows', Orphans' and Old Age Contributory Pensions (Voluntary Contributors) Act, 1937, which operates from January 3, 1938, introduces a new system of voluntary insurance for pensions and breaks the interlocking between the Health and Pensions Insurance.

The Act provides in the case of voluntary contributors who qualified under the original Act that they shall have the option of continuing their insurance under the provisions of the original Act, or, transferring to the appropriate provisions of the 1937 Act, which will enable them to contribute for pensions only and disregard the National Health Insurance. In the case, however, of persons qualifying for voluntary insurance after January 2, 1938, the provisions of the 1937 Act will automatically apply. This change of condition will most seriously affect officers engaged in excepted employment, as they will be prevented from taking up voluntary insurance for all benefits of the Health and Pensions Acts as their colleagues have done in the past. Section 9 of the Pensions Act, 1937, provides for such officers to become voluntary contributors, when they cease to come within the scope of the certificate by reason of their salary exceeding the insurable limit (£250 per annum) for such benefits and subject to the same conditions as when they were in excepted employment.

It will, therefore, be seen that local government

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officers can only enjoy the benefits of the Health and Pensions Acts if they are employed by a council which has not obtained exception from any of the benefits under these Acts. To those officers so engaged, with a salary under £250 per annum and, consequently, compulsorily insured, it cannot be denied that the benefits obtainable are more than equal, in accordance with the rates of premium, to the benefits obtained from any private insurance company, and when their salary exceeds £250 per annum, they have the option of continuing to be entitled to these benefits as voluntary contributors, or allowing the insurance to lapse. It would, therefore, seem that in order to give every officer an opportunity to insure himself, councils should in future discourage exceptions from either the Health or Pensions Acts

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Local government officers receiving salaries within the insurable limit must pay unemployment insurance unless the employing authority has obtained a certificate of exception from the Minister of Labour. To obtain this certificate the Minister must be satisfied that employment is permanent, that insurance against unemployment is unnecessary, and that the officers included have at least three years' service already to their credit. The majority of local government officers are excepted

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COMPENSATION PROVISIONS

From 1867 Parliament has accepted the principle that when a local government officer loses his employment or suffers a reduction in salary and status in consequence of an alteration in the law, compensation should be paid to him. The alteration of boundaries, the abolition of an authority, or the transfer of some function from one type of authority to another, frequently leaves local government officers without hope of progress and even without a job. These changes are in no sense due to the fault, or the action of the officers concerned, but may represent a change in national policy arising from a change of government.

Public servants who have made local government their career, who have been specially trained for it, and who, therefore, have a reduced market value in the outside world, cannot be thrown on the scrap heap at such times of change. Therefore, the principle of including in new legislation of this character some provision for compensation on abolition of office has followed the precedent of the civil service. Various general public Acts and many local authorities' private Acts include compensation provisions.

The provisions of Section 150 of, and the Fourth Schedule to, the Local Government Act, 1933, constitute a considered code of application, not only in the case of Orders or Schemes made under that

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Act, but also for application in the case of local Acts involving questions of compensation to officers and servants of local authorities. The 1933 provisions have, in fact, been applied with necessary modifications in some cases where officers and servants of other bodies than local authorities have been affected by local Acts. The 1933 provisions are the outcome of a series of enactments relating to compensation contained in the Local Government Act, 1888, the Local Government Act, 1894, the Rating and Valuation Act, 1925, the Local Government Act, 1929, and numerous local Acts and Orders affecting local authorities.

Compensation provisions are contained in the following general Acts relating to specific matters:

- Electricity (Supply) Act, 1919, Section 16 as amended by the Electricity (Supply) Acts, 1922, 1926, 1928, and 1933,
- Education Act, 1921;
- Electricity (Supply) Act, 1926 (in relation to the setting up of the "Grid Scheme"),
- Town and Country Planning Act, 1932,
- London Passenger Transport Act, 1933,
- Livestock Industry Act, 1937.

BREAKING A CONTRACT OF SERVICE

Section 4 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875, provides that where a person

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employed by a municipal authority who are gas and water undertakers for any city, borough, town, or place wilfully and maliciously breaks a contract of service with that authority, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the probable consequence of his so doing, either alone or in combination with others, will be to deprive the inhabitants of that city, borough, town, or place wholly or to a great extent of the supply of gas or water, he shall on conviction by a court of summary jurisdiction or on indictment, be liable to a penalty not exceeding £20 or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, with or without hard labour

Section 31 of the Electricity Supply Act, 1919, extends the provisions of the above section to persons employed by a joint electricity authority or by any authorized undertakers. Under this Act "authorized undertakers" include a local authority or a combination of local authorities or a joint electricity authority. It is further provided by section 5 of the Act of 1875 that where a person wilfully and maliciously breaks a contract of service or of hiring, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the probable consequence of his so doing, either alone or in combination with others, will be to endanger human life or cause serious bodily injury or to expose valuable property, whether real or personal, to destruction or serious injury, he shall

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be liable to similar penalties as those contained in section 4.

° Section 5 must now be read together with section 6 (4) of the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, 1927, by which it is provided that "If a person employed by a local or other public authority wilfully breaks a contract of service with that authority, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the probable consequence of his so doing, either alone or in combination with others, will be to cause injury or danger or grave inconvenience to the community, he shall be liable, on summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding ten pounds or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months."

Also there are certain local government officers upon whom statutory duties are imposed who would be thereby prohibited from participating in any strike, viz. relieving officers and masters of public assistance institutions

It is further provided by section 1 of the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, 1927, that any strike is illegal if it (a) has any object other than or in addition to the furtherance of a trade dispute within the trade or industry in which the strikers are engaged; (b) is a strike designed or calculated to coerce the government either directly or by inflicting hardship upon the community. It would, therefore, be illegal for local government officers to take part in

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any general strike. Apart from this, there is nothing necessarily illegal in a strike or in the authorization of a strike, or in the undertaking of the management or direction of a strike, but a strike may become illegal if it is attended with circumstances such as a breach of contract or intimidation, which make it illegal. For instance, a local government officer who by the terms of his employment, is required to give one month's notice could be sued for damages for breach of contract if he were to cease work without having given the proper notice.

OTHER LEGAL PROVISIONS

Generally speaking all local government officers must work under the council, who are responsible as a body for the policy in local government. In some cases, however, the law requires officers to do certain things which are outside the control of the council; for instance, in the conduct of elections the town clerk is not under control; also, the borough or county treasurer must disobey any orders instructing him to make illegal payments. These exceptions to the general rule that the officers must carry out the policy of the council are well-known to both sides, and are seldom the cause of trouble.

Local authorities are large buyers of materials and parties to important and expensive contracts. Those who enter into these contracts are not spend-

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ing their own money, but that of the ratepayers, and it is necessary to protect the public as far as it can be done by law, from corrupt practices. Most of the law concerning the conduct of local government officers and local authority contracts is contained in the Local Government Act, 1933; the appropriate section (123) (1) reads as follows

“If it comes to the knowledge of an officer employed, whether under this Act or any other enactment, by a local authority, that a contract in which he has any pecuniary interest, whether direct or indirect (not being a contract to which he is himself a party), has been, or is proposed to be, entered into by the authority or any committee thereof, he shall, as soon as practicable, give notice in writing to the authority of the fact that he is interested therein. . .”

There are one or two other Acts to be remembered. The Public Bodies Corrupt Practices Act, 1889, makes it a misdemeanour for any person directly or indirectly corruptly to solicit or receive any gift or other reward as an inducement for doing or forbearing to do anything in respect of a transaction, actual or proposed, in which the public body is concerned.

The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1906, enacts that if any agent accepts or obtains any gift or consideration as an inducement or reward for doing or forbearing to do any act in relation to his principal's

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affairs or business, or for showing or forbearing to show favour or disfavour to any person in relation to his principal's affairs or business or, if any person corruptly gives or agrees to give or offers any gift or consideration to any agent as an inducement or reward for doing or forbearing to do any act in relation to his principal's affairs or business, or for showing or forbearing to show favour or disfavour to any person in relation to his principal's affairs or business he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour and shall be liable

- (1) on conviction—on indictment to imprisonment for not exceeding two years, or to a fine not exceeding £500, or to both;
- (2) on summary conviction to imprisonment for not exceeding four months, or to a fine not exceeding £50, or to both

An officer serving any local authority is an agent within the meaning of this Act. Both the Public Bodies Corrupt Practices Act, 1889, and the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1906, were amended and strengthened by the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1916, more particularly by throwing the onus of proof that the gift, etc., was not received or given corruptly on the accused where a contract for a local authority or other public body is concerned.

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SICK LEAVE

The practice of local authorities in paying their officers during periods of sickness varies so considerably that it is not possible to give anything like a "normal" example, still less an "average" of the country. Some authorities treat each case on its merits, others pay full salary for a short period, then, either half salary for a further period and nothing afterwards, or treat each case on its merits, others again pay full salary for a comparatively long period—that is, anything up to six months; then one of the two alternatives mentioned above will operate. Others have a graduated scale, paying full salary for a longer period to an officer with more years of service than to his colleague who has not been in the service for so many years. Some local authorities deduct the amount due to the officer from National Health Insurance. Others believing that an officer needs more money during periods of ill-health, allow him to retain his full salary.

OFFICE HOURS

The practice of local authorities varies in regard to office hours almost as much as it does in connection with sickness payments, but the hours worked by the staffs generally depend upon the office hours operating throughout the town. The maximum

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number of hours, however, rarely exceeds 39, whilst in many local authorities, 38 is a common working week. In London, it is usual for officers to have only 1 hour for lunch, but in the province $1\frac{1}{2}$ or $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours is often given and this enables the officers to get home for a meal. They make up this extra time by starting earlier in the morning, or closing later in the evening than their metropolitan colleagues.

Another practice which is of recent innovation and is rapidly becoming popular is the "Saturday morning leave." Some local authorities arrange for a "rota" whereby the officers have one Saturday morning free in three or four.

OVERTIME

Overtime, in the industrial sense of the term, is virtually unknown in the local government service. When extra hours are worked, it is the usual practice to grant "tea money" which rarely covers and more rarely still exceeds the cost of a meal. Chief officers and committee clerks are the most suffering victims of extra hours, for it is a common and growing practice to have committee and council meetings during week-day evenings, and in some instances on Saturday afternoons. In some cases, these extra hours are compensated for by time off during the day or by an addition to public and annual holidays.

This question has not, however, been satisfactorily

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settled and, at the annual conference, 1936, of the National Association of Local Government Officers, the following resolution was passed:

That this conference calls the attention of local authorities to the serious restriction of the opportunities of many local government officers for education, rest, recreation and social activities, as a result of those officers being required to attend evening meetings of Councils and Committees

That the National Executive Council be instructed to take steps to bring this matter to the notice of the Associations of Local Authorities, to obtain compensating leave for those officers concerned, and to amend the model Conditions of Service accordingly

No local authority can be better than the staff which mans its machine.

CHAPTER III

Recruitment and Training

I hold every man a debtor to his profession, from the which as men do of course seek to receive countenance and profits, so ought they of duty to endeavour themselves, by way of amends, to be a help and an ornament thereunto

● FRANCIS BACON *

It will be obvious that the multifarious duties now carried out by local authorities, and the vast amount of administrative detail involved, necessitate the employment of a large subordinate staff of assistants and clerical workers. A glance at the principal activities of a local authority will give some idea of the varied nature of the services. They embrace public health (including the provision of the various medical services), public sanitation (including water supply, sewage and refuse disposal), relief of the poor, education, police, fire brigade service, construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, and provision and maintenance of open spaces, recreation grounds and allotment lands, architecture (including housing and supervision of building), town and country planning, rating and valuation, in many cases trading undertakings, such as the supply of water, electricity, gas and transport, supervision of weights and measures, and supervision of agriculture, including land settlement

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I am leaving out of this story the position and the appointment and qualifications of teachers. Whilst the administration of education is the responsibility of the local authorities, the conditions of service of teachers are governed very largely by the Board of Education.

It is safe to assume that every local authority (with the exception of those whose administrative offices are placed in the centre of the county of London) selects its junior entrants from within its own area and usually the announcement of vacancies is made by advertisement in the local newspapers.

Some of the larger local authorities hold special entrance examinations, but, generally speaking, a school certificate, good address, and a satisfactory interview are preliminaries to appointment. The Manchester City Council, for example, holds public examinations as often as may be necessary for junior positions in the corporation service. From the list of successful candidates each employing committee fills the vacancies in its own department. In some cases the principal officers have an arrangement with the juvenile employment department, or with the headmasters and mistresses of secondary schools, whereby suitable candidates are supplied for interview when a vacancy for a junior occurs.

There is a noticeable difference in the calibre of the young officers in the last ten years in those local authorities where a minimum age of sixteen years

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is insisted upon, with the matriculation standard. The proportion of officers in all departments who have their professional ticket is noticeably higher in these cases also, and this, of course, is partly due to the fact that the matriculation examination has in many cases given exemption from the preliminary professional examinations and the juniors have proceeded to the professional studies without any lapse in the habit of study.

Probably 90 per cent of the present staffs of local authorities were originally recruited as juniors at fourteen plus to sixteen years of age, and from this great reservoir a large proportion of the heads of departments have emerged by promotion. There is a growing tendency to advertise for junior officials, but rarely is an appointment made from a distant town, because the salary offered is insufficient to enable the youth to live away from home. Cost of board, lodgings, and laundry must be met, if he is to make himself proficient, tuition and examination fees have to be paid, and provision made for the holidays and recreation so necessary for the enjoyment of a healthy life. He should also be interested in various social affairs in order to become a useful citizen. All this will cost money.

In some instances, however, persons of mature years who have obtained a professional or technical qualification outside the service, are appointed, usually after public advertisement.

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It will be found that in the majority of departments of every authority the staff comprises two main sections

- (a) the professional or technical, and
- (b) the "lay," or clerical and administrative

The following brief survey of the various departments will show the opportunities available for training for the professional, technical, administrative, and clerical positions in local government

In some cases qualifications for a post are prescribed by statute or by statutory regulations. In these cases the statutory requirements have been quoted, and attention has also been drawn to those cases where the consent of the Minister of the appropriate government department is required for the appointment or dismissal of an officer.

CLERK'S DEPARTMENT

There is no statutory definition of what should be the duties and qualifications of a clerk of a county council, town clerk, or clerk of an urban or rural district council. Under the Local Government (Clerks) Act, 1931, however, the salary to be paid to the clerk of a county council requires the approval of the Minister of Health. This Act also provides that the requirement of the Local Government Act, 1888, that the clerk of a county council should be also clerk of the peace shall not operate hence-

forward, and that those officers shall in future be separate and distinct

The clerk is usually a member of the legal profession except in the case of some small authorities. To attain professional status in the clerk's department an officer usually qualifies as a solicitor, and for this purpose he must not only pass examinations, but he must also enter into articles with a practising solicitor for a period of five years (or three years in the case of a university graduate). When the town clerk is a solicitor, it is possible for an officer to be articled to him. It is also possible for duly qualified assistants to grant articles to pupils, who may or may not be salaried officers of the local authority. In addition, the officer must attend an approved law school for a course of lectures; but such lectures may be undertaken in the evenings, and need not interfere with the officer's continued employment in the local government service.

In some cases an officer can attain professional status by taking the examinations of the Council for Legal Education and qualifying as a barrister-at-law. This involves passing a prescribed examination and being a registered member of one of the Inns of Court. The university degree of Bachelor of Laws is frequently taken by officers who ultimately attain professional rank.

It will thus be seen that the junior entrants to the service can qualify professionally and eventually

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obtain the position of chief officer in the department. It should also be noted that in some instances men of mature years who have qualified as solicitors in private practice can enter the service in the lower grades of the professional staff, usually being appointed as assistant solicitors, or legal clerks, and after experience may then rise to the highest post in the department.

TREASURER'S DEPARTMENT

An officer in the treasurer's department may qualify professionally by passing the examinations of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants. Before he is permitted to enter for these examinations he must be employed in the finance department of a local authority and, before presenting himself for the final examination, must have had at least five years' experience (three years in the case of a graduate) in local authority financial work. It is thus possible for a junior clerk to attain professional status whilst continuing employment in the local government service, and so to obtain a position as treasurer.

The Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors also conducts professional accountancy examinations which do not relate specifically to municipal accountancy, but officers in the treasurer's department frequently take the examinations of this

body. In some instances, chartered accountants are appointed to the staff of the treasurer's department, but it is usual for local authorities to expect the qualifications of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, or the Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors for the higher posts

Where a costing system is in operation, officers engaged on this work usually take the examinations of the Institute of Cost and Works Accountants.

RATING AND VALUATION DEPARTMENT

In some authorities the rating and valuation work is undertaken by the treasurer's department, in others a separate rating and valuation department is established. The Incorporated Association of Rating and Valuation Officers conducts a professional examination, and junior entrants to the service may enter for the final examination after three years' experience in a rating and valuation department or other similar office of a local authority.

PUBLIC HEALTH DEPARTMENT

(a) *Medical Officers*—The position of chief officer of the public health department is governed by Statutory Rules and Orders, 1926, No 552, paragraph 5, of which reads "A person shall not be qualified to be hereafter appointed or re-appointed as a medical officer of health of any district or

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combination of districts unless, in addition to the qualification prescribed by any statute he is also either registered in the medical register as the holder of a diploma in sanitary science, public health, or state medicine, or has had not less than three years' previous experience of the duties of a medical officer of health "

It will thus be seen that the chief officer of a public health department must be a qualified doctor. An officer cannot, therefore, enter as a junior and qualify as chief of the medical department whilst in the service of a local authority, since it is necessary for him not only to have passed the appropriate examinations, but to have been trained in a recognized medical school. Members of the medical profession, before entering the local government service, usually take the Diploma in Public Health. This is an additional qualification in subjects related to the public health work of a local authority

(b) *Sanitary Inspectors, Food Inspectors, Smoke Inspectors*—The appointment of a sanitary inspector must be made in accordance with paragraph 16 of Statutory Rules and Orders, 1926, No 552, which reads:

A person shall not be qualified to be hereafter appointed or re-appointed as a sanitary inspector of any district or combination of districts unless he is the holder

- (a) Of a certificate of the Royal Sanitary Institute and Sanitary Inspectors' Examination Joint Board, or

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- (b) A certificate of the late Sanitary Inspectors' Examination Board, or
- (c) A certificate issued before the 1st day of January, 1899, by the Sanitary Institute, now known as the Royal Sanitary Institute, or
- (d) In the case of an appointment as sanitary inspector of a district or combination of districts outside London a certificate of the Royal Sanitary Institute issued before the 1st day of January, 1926

Provided* that if the local authority employ a qualified veterinary surgeon for purposes connected with the inspection of meat, they may, with the approval of the Minister, appoint him as a sanitary inspector for the purpose only of exercising the powers and duties of such an officer in relation to meat notwithstanding that he does not possess one of the qualifications prescribed by this Article

An officer who has attained the age of twenty-one may present himself for the examinations of the Royal Sanitary Institute and the Sanitary Inspectors' Examinations Joint Board if he can show that he has had at least one year's practical experience in a public health department and has attended a six months' course of lectures at a school approved by the Examinations Board. The course of lectures may be taken in the evening. A junior clerk in the medical officer's department can therefore qualify as a sanitary inspector whilst in the service.

The qualification for women sanitary inspectors is the same as that required for men sanitary inspectors, namely, the qualifying certificate of the Royal Sanitary Institute and the Sanitary Inspectors' Examination Joint Board. It is more difficult

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for a woman to obtain the practical instruction than for a man unless she is qualified as a health visitor, in which case a year's experience as a health visitor is accepted as the necessary practical experience in a public health department

In Scotland, sanitary inspectors' certificates are granted by the Royal Sanitary Association of Scotland

In addition to sanitary inspectors, certain local authorities employ smoke inspectors and meat and food inspectors. The qualifications for these technical positions are obtained by passing the appropriate examinations of the Royal Sanitary Institute.

(c) *Health Visitors*—Paragraph 8 of Statutory Rules and Orders, 1930, No. 69, which relates to the appointment of health visitors states

Any person appointed to be a health visitor shall be a woman who, prior to the 1st April, 1930, has held the appointment of a health visitor with the approval of the Minister, or who has obtained the health visitors' certificate issued by the Royal Sanitary Institute under conditions approved by the Minister or the diploma issued under the Board of Education (Health Visitors' Training) Regulations, 1919

For wholetime appointments, a health visitors' certificate is required which can only be obtained by .

- (a) trained nurses with the certificate of the Central Midwives' Board who have completed an approved course of training in public health work lasting for at least six months; or

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- (b) women who have undergone an approved course of training in public health work lasting for two years, together with six months' training in hospital and who have obtained the certificate of the Central Midwives' Board, or
- (c) existing health visitors who have completed at least three years' satisfactory service

The health visitors' certificate is granted by the Royal Sanitary Institute

(d) *Midwives*—In order to practice as a midwife it is necessary to obtain the certificate of the Central Midwives Board which has prescribed courses of training approved by the Minister of Health both for qualified nurses and for those who have not so qualified. This qualification is also necessary for public health work in such appointments as health visitor and usually for district nursing.

The principal object of the Midwives Act, 1936, is to secure the organization throughout the country of a domiciliary service of salaried midwives under the control of local supervising authorities as an important step in the improvement of the maternity services and in the campaign for reducing maternal mortality. Under section 6 of the Act, the Minister of Health may, by order, apply the section to the area of any local supervising authority or to any county district contained therein, when he is satisfied that that authority has secured the provision

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of an adequate service of salaried midwives. After the date of such an order, it will be a penal offence for a male person or any person who is neither certified under the Midwives Act, 1902, nor registered in the general part of the register of nurses required to be kept under the Nurses Registration Act, 1919, to receive any remuneration for attending in the area or district to which the order applies as a nurse on a woman in childbirth or at any time during the ten days immediately after childbirth. Exceptions are, however, made as regards, (a) persons who are undergoing training as part of a midwifery course recognized by the General Medical Council or by the Central Midwives Board with a view to becoming duly qualified medical practitioners or certified midwives; (b) any person who attends on a woman in a nursing home registered, or exempt from registration, under the Nursing Homes Registration Act, 1927, or in hospitals or institutions excepted from the definition of nursing home in that Act, and (c) women who before January 1, 1937, have been certified by the authorities of a hospital or other institution to which the Minister has, by Order, applied the proviso to subsection (1) of the section, to have been trained in obstetric nursing, provided that such women give notice in writing to the authority of the area that they have been so certified.

The Act also confers on the Central Midwives

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Board the power to frame rules requiring midwives to attend periodically courses of instruction approved by the Board and local supervising authorities are required to provide, or arrange for the provision of, the necessary courses for midwives practising in their areas.

(e) *Hospitals*.—The chief officers of general and mental hospitals, and general clinics under the control of the local authorities whether organized in public health departments or in public assistance departments, must be fully qualified medical practitioners. The heads of tuberculosis sanatoria and clinics must be doctors with special qualifications in connection with the prevention and cure of phthisis. Their appointment and dismissal are subject to the consent of the Minister of Health.

There are also many subordinate posts in these institutions for which medical qualifications are required. The domestic and orderly staff, however, are ordinarily recruited through the employment exchanges.

The Nurses' Registration Act, 1919, standardized the professional training of nurses and set up bodies known as the General Nursing Councils for England and Wales, for Scotland and for Ireland. Each body approves hospitals which satisfy the required conditions as training schools, maintains the Register of Nurses and conducts the various examinations which nurses must pass in order to have their names

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entered on the register. The councils are also concerned with the uniform or badge which may be worn by registered nurses.

Training as a hospital nurse usually consists of a probationary period, followed by practical experience in hospital wards and preparation for the qualifying examination. It is possible for nurses to obtain specialized training as sick children's nurse, fever nurse, or mental nurse. The qualified nurse may also specialize in a particular branch of nursing, such as radiography or massage and electrical treatment, or may extend her knowledge by studying for a university diploma in nursing.

The qualification for radiographers is the certificate of the Society of Radiographers. The Chartered Society of Massage and Medical Gymnastics is the recognized controlling and examining body concerned with training in massage, medical gymnastics and medical electricity.

(f) *Public Analysts and Pharmacists*—Section 11 of the Fertilizers and Feeding Stuffs Act, 1926, provides that:

- (1) It shall be the duty of the council of every county or county borough to enforce within their county or county borough the provisions of this Act, and for that purpose to appoint an official agricultural analyst (in this Act referred to as the agricultural analyst) and such inspectors and official samplers as may be necessary. Provided that every such inspector shall be a wholetime officer of the council or in the case of a

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joint appointment of one or more of the councils concurring in the appointment

- (2) Any such council may also appoint a deputy agricultural analyst, who shall in the case of the illness, incapacity, or absence of the agricultural analyst, or pending the appointment of the agricultural analyst, have all the powers and duties of the agricultural analyst, and where the deputy acts, this Act shall apply as if he were the agricultural analyst
- (3) The appointment by a council of the agricultural analyst, or deputy agricultural analyst, inspectors, and official samplers, shall be subject to the approval of the Minister
- (4) A person while holding the office of official sampler shall not engage in farming or any business connected with the manufacture, sale or importation of articles used as fertilizers of the soil or as food for cattle or poultry
- (5) The council of a county or county borough may concur with one or more other such councils in making any appointment which they are required or authorized to make under this section and as to the apportionment amongst the several councils of the expenses of any such joint appointment, but this power shall be in addition to and not in derogation of the power conferred on councils by the Local Government Act, 1888, to appoint joint committees for the purposes of this Act

In almost every case, these men are university graduates in chemistry or bacteriology and many of them hold qualifications indicated by membership of the Institute of Chemistry. There are subordinate posts in the laboratories in the larger cities for which qualifications in chemistry are necessary. These are nearly always filled by the recruitment of graduates of universities or technical schools. Persons are

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needed for subordinate posts as laboratory assistants. There are some limited facilities for training these assistants; but they are ordinarily not enough to enable the employee to secure a professional or technical qualification without considerable outside study.

Some local authorities appoint officers for work of a definitely pharmaceutical kind; these officers usually possess the university degree of Bachelor of Pharmacy. Dispensers in hospitals usually qualify by passing the examination of the Society of Apothecaries of London.

(g) *Dental Service* —The school dental service is carried on by registered dentists, educated at dental colleges which are closely linked with medical colleges. There is no opportunity for securing such training within the public service.

(h) *Veterinary Surgeons* —Inspection of dairy cattle is normally carried on by veterinarians, members of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons. Education for the examinations of this body can be secured only in a small number of approved colleges. Where qualified veterinarians are not employed sanitary inspectors may do this work. In some cases dairy inspection and milk inspection are separated, the latter being handled by a food inspector in conjunction with the public analyst.

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ENGINEERING AND SURVEYING

In the field of engineering and surveying the practice of local authorities is probably more varied than in any other. The number of departments between which this work is divided and the names of the departments are not standardized in the larger areas and this difficulty is met with in each type of authority down almost to the smallest authority, where the work is mostly performed under one chief official. The approval of the Minister of Transport is required in certain cases to the appointment, retention, or dismissal of a surveyor or engineer.

The professional qualification in this case is usually the University degree of B.Sc. (Engineering) or membership of the Institution of Civil Engineers, the Institution of Municipal and County Engineers, or the Chartered Surveyors Institute. Training may be secured either at a university or a technical school, or by apprenticeship to a practising engineer.

On the technical side, an officer may present himself for the examinations of the Institution of Municipal and County Engineers for the following certificates.

- (a) Testamur Examination,
- (b) Certificate in County and Highways Engineering,
- (c) Certificate in Town Planning

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Whilst it will be seen that an officer cannot become a chief officer in this department unless he has become a qualified engineer or surveyor he may take an examination which will obtain for him recognition as a technical assistant

CLEANSING DEPARTMENTS

In some cities public cleansing, the collection and removal of garbage and refuse, and street cleaning is the responsibility of the engineering department. In others it is taken care of by the public health department, but in the larger cities and to a growing extent in the smaller ones, there is a special department for this work. The head of this department is usually a member of the Institute of Public Cleansing. Training for the examinations of this institute can usually be obtained only by service in the department. Both junior clerical officers and members of the operating staff may aspire to the higher posts.

HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING DEPARTMENTS

In many cities there is a special department for constructing and managing the housing estates, and the work of town planning is frequently undertaken by this department. In many cases, however, the work of town planning and housing and estate

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management comes within the jurisdiction of one of the larger departments

Where a separate department exists, the work of town planning is usually undertaken by a special officer who may be a member of the Town Planning Institute and often also of the Chartered Surveyors' Institute, or the Royal Institute of British Architects. Juniors attached to this office are usually first trained as engineers and later take the examination of the Town Planning Institute.

Where there is a special department responsible for work of this character the officer in control of housing estate management is likely to be a member of the Royal Institute of British Architects, if the work is chiefly concerned with design and construction. If the construction period is over, the usual thing is to have a member of the Chartered Surveyors' Institution or the Incorporated Society of Auctioneers and Landed Property Agents in charge. Here again training of juniors is usually by apprenticeship.

It is becoming customary for local authorities to appoint women housing estate managers who are trained on the Octavia Hill principle. Training schemes are now mainly centralized in the Society of Women Housing Estate Managers which arranges the practical and theoretical work of students of house property management in London and at certain centres in the provinces. Candidates accepted

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by the Society for training are placed in housing estate offices by arrangement with individual managers. The minimum period of training in ordinary circumstances is one year, the first three months of which are probationary. Students are required by the Society to take:

- (i) the Women House Property Managers Certificate of the Chartered Surveyors' Institution, or
- (ii) the professional examination of the Chartered Surveyors' Institution; or
- (iii) the B Sc. degree in estate management

LAND AGENT

The larger local authorities—for the most part county councils—have established a separate department to deal with matters relating to the Small Holdings and Allotments Acts and the Land Drainage Acts. The work includes the inspection and valuation of lands to be purchased or leased, the preparation of schemes for their division and adaptation, the maintenance of any buildings on the estate, the supervision of cultivation and the general management of any property acquired. Work in connection with the Land Drainage Acts includes the inspection and levelling of water courses and the general supervision of land drainage through-

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out the administrative area. The qualifications required are a general knowledge of land agency work; the diploma of the Chartered Surveyors' Institute and/or the diploma of the Chartered Land Agents' Society.

AGRICULTURE

In all County Councils matters affecting agriculture are dealt with by an Agricultural Committee, except in the case of Agricultural Education which may be administered by either the Agricultural or the Education Committee.

There is generally a chief agricultural officer who is also county land agent and who may have an assistant. The qualifications for these posts are those of members of the Land Agents' Society or the Surveyors' Institute and the possession of such a qualification, is practically a necessity.

In regard to agricultural education this sub-department, or in certain counties a full department, is under the supervision of an agricultural organiser who, in these days, must be a graduate of a university, with sound practical knowledge. There are cases where an organizer is appointed who is not a graduate, but is a holder of one or more of the diplomas mentioned below.

The staff of the agricultural organiser may comprise the following officers:

Assistant agricultural organiser, who may or may

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not be a graduate, but generally holds diplomas; a county poultry instructor or instructress holding the N D P (National Diploma in Poultry Husbandry); a county dairy instructor or instructress holding the N D D (National Diploma in Dairying); a county horticultural instructor with the N D H (National Diploma in Horticulture), and instructors in farriery, bee-keeping, etc

Some counties possess a Farm Institute of which the organizer is principal, and he and the members of his staff carry out the same work in the county as obtains in a county with no Institute, in addition to the teaching undertaken at the Institute

It will be seen, therefore, that the staffs of agricultural organizers are mainly recruited from the Agricultural Institutes, Colleges and Universities, and in addition to practical knowledge, a degree or diploma is most essential.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

The head of the education department is usually a graduate of a British University, but not infrequently the appointing authority insists that the officer shall have had teaching experience in a school recognized by the Board of Education. In the majority of cases the chief officers are appointed from their immediate assistants, who are men who have obtained the necessary qualifications whilst

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in the service, or of mature years originally appointed from outside the service (university graduates and teachers) It will thus be seen that the chances for a junior entering the service of this department to rise to the chief post are influenced considerably by (a) a degree of a British university and (b) teaching experience

Examples of other posts under local education authorities include blind persons or mental deficiency welfare officers, school attendance officers and juvenile employment officers

Inspectors of schools and organizers for special subjects, such as physical training, domestic science, and handwork, are also appointed. No specific qualifications are recognized for these posts, although, not infrequently, officers prepare for the degree examinations of a British university, or for a professional qualification.

LIBRARIES DEPARTMENT

The Library Association awards a diploma on the results of an intermediate examination and a final examination These examinations are open to officers who have worked for not less than twenty-four hours a week for at least three years as members of the administrative staff of one or more libraries approved by the council of the Library Association It is possible, therefore, for a junior entrant to the service

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to be engaged in public library work and to study so as to qualify professionally as a librarian

It is also possible for persons of mature years, with the required experience, to enter the service of this department and, provided they hold the diploma of the Library Association, to rise to the position of chief officer

Hitherto it has been possible to obtain the position of librarian without professional qualifications, but the development of the library service has led to a stricter system of recruitment and promotion, and it is now the usual practice to require the appropriate qualifications

Museums and Art Galleries frequently come within the purview of the libraries department. Eminent artists and connoisseurs are sometimes appointed as honorary curators of museums and art galleries, whilst the actual management is left to the librarian and his staff

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE DEPARTMENT

In 1930 public assistance work was transferred from the boards of guardians and placed under the jurisdiction of county councils and county borough councils. As a broad classification, it can with safety be said that the work of a public assistance department is divisible into three main strata; out relief, institutional relief, and general administration. The

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Poor Law Examinations Board conducts examinations for officers engaged in each of these strata, the first being covered by the relieving officer's certificate, the second by the institutional officer's certificate, and the third by the clerical officer's certificate. These examinations, a more detailed account of which appears later on, have undoubtedly tended to raise the "tone" and the efficiency of the public assistance service.

Article 159 of the Public Assistance Order, 1930, provides that "no person shall be appointed to be a Public Assistance Officer, Assistant or Deputy Public Assistance Officer, Master, Superintendent, Steward or Relieving Officer who has not had previous experience as an officer in local government or poor law administration in an office the duties of which are similar to those of the office to which it is proposed to appoint him or such other experience as the council, with the consent of the Minister, may prescribe

Provided that nothing in this Article contained shall prevent the council from appointing a person to be a Relieving Officer who holds the Relieving Officer's Certificate issued by the Poor Law Examinations Board, or a Superintendent who holds the Master's certificate issued by that Board."

There are two qualifications for members of the public assistance department staff, which may be regarded as of a vocational character; they are the

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relieving officer's certificate and the institution officer's certificate

The relieving officer's certificate is awarded on the result of an examination conducted by the Poor Law Examinations Board. The institution officer's certificate is also awarded by the Poor Law Examinations Board and this is regarded as the appropriate qualification for the master of a public assistance institution under a local authority. A junior officer may, after entry to the service, continue his employment and at the same time qualify as a master of a public assistance institution or as a relieving officer.

In 1934 the Poor Law Examinations' Board established examinations for clerical assistants in this department, and certificates are awarded on the results of these examinations. These examinations are designed to meet the need of the administrative staff of a large public assistance department, and while they do not confer professional status, the qualification is a distinct asset when questions of promotion and transfer are under consideration. It should be noted that public assistance departments are responsible for a considerable amount of hospital work, a detailed description of which has been given in that section relating to the public health department. In addition, some public assistance authorities are responsible for instructional classes for men in receipt of relief, old people's homes and children's homes.

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WEIGHTS AND MEASURES DEPARTMENT

The post of inspector of weights and measures is governed by Statutory Rules and Orders, 1907, No 698, made in accordance with paragraph 2 of the Schedule of the Weights and Measures Act, 1904, which states that no person can be appointed by the local authority to act as an inspector of weights and measures unless he has obtained a certificate of qualification from the Board of Trade (section 8 of the Act of 1904). Every inspector, as soon as he is appointed, must enter into recognizance to the Crown in the sum of £200 for the due performance of his duties (section 43 of the Act of 1878). The penalty for any breach of duty imposed by the Weights and Measures Acts or the Board of Trade Regulations under the Act of 1904 is a fine not exceeding £5 (section 49 of the Act of 1878 and 5 (4) of the Act of 1904). An inspector must not be financially interested in the making, adjusting, or selling of weights, measures, and instruments (sections 12 (1) of the Acts of 1889).

Section 8 (3) of the Act of 1904 provides that no person other than an inspector duly appointed under the Weights and Measures Act should act as such inspector, under a penalty of £10, or £20 for a repeated offence. An inspector must accordingly be careful never to delegate to an assistant any of his statutory duties in such a way that the assistant

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could be held to be acting independently as an inspector.

The usual procedure for training as an inspector of weights and measures is for a junior to enter the department in a subordinate capacity, assisting the inspector in his duties, gradually learning the work and then taking the examination. The examinations are open to all officers who can secure nomination by a local authority. In some authorities the work connected with weights and measures is in a separate department under a chief officer, in others the work is undertaken by a section of the town clerk's department or the chief constable's department.

The inspection of gas meters is frequently combined with the inspection of weights and measures. The qualification required to do this is likewise secured by passing an examination conducted by the standards department of the Board of Trade. Juniors who wish to qualify do so in the same manner as inspectors of weights and measures. Inspectors of weights and measures often act also as inspectors under the Food and Drugs (Adulteration), Explosives, Shops and other Acts.

TRADING DEPARTMENTS

The trading enterprises of local authorities vary considerably and cover a wide range of services.

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Gas, water, electricity, transport, and, to a growing extent, airports are provided by corporations. One local authority owns its own telephone service, and at least one authority a printing and stationery department for the printing and publication of its own documents.

The more general of the public utility services are as a rule organized within separate departments. The chief officer of each department has an appropriate qualification, and there are no special regulations governing entry into them.

(a) *Gas*—In the case of the gas department it is usual for the chief officer to be a member of the Institution of Gas Engineers, for which there is a qualifying examination.

(b) *Water*—The chief officer of the water department is usually a member of the Institute of Water Engineers, and in many cases is also a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers.

(c) *Electricity*—The electrical engineer, who is at the head of the electricity department, is usually a member of the Institution of Electrical Engineers.

(d) *Transport*—Membership of the Institute of Transport and the Institute of Mechanical Engineers are the usual qualifications of the transport manager, who is the chief officer of the transport department.

(e) *Markets*—Some local authorities have a separate market department in which there is no professional examination, and consequently any junior

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entrant may rise to the highest post by learning the technique of market management in the ordinary course of his duties

The junior entrant to any trading department may qualify for membership of the appropriate professional society, either by serving as an apprentice to the head of the department, or by attending classes at technical or evening schools, whilst gaining experience in the appropriate department

(f) *Police*—Police departments stand in a somewhat different position from other local government departments. In counties they are governed by a joint committee of the council and the justices of the peace, who are appointed by the Lord Chancellor and serve without pay as local magistrates. In county boroughs (all the large cities outside London) they are controlled by the watch committee of the council. This is a statutory committee with certain statutory functions. In every case half the cost of police administration is paid by the national government and all local police forces must be conducted according to regulations issued by the Home Office. Periodic inspections are made to see that a minimum efficiency is maintained.

Except in London, the chief officer of the police department is known as the chief constable. In the Metropolitan Police District he is called the commissioner of police of the metropolis. The head of the London police is appointed by the Secretary of

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State for Home Affairs. In other places the head is appointed by the appropriate committee, but in no case may such an appointment be made without the approval of the Secretary of State, and a chief constable may be removed only with the consent of the Secretary of State

Chief constables usually come from one of two sources, (1) by promotion from the police force of the city or by transfer from the police force of another authority, or (2) from outside the police service, usually from among commissioned officers in the Army, Navy, or Air Force

The subordinate posts in the police service are all filled by promotion from the entry grade of police constable. These men are recruited usually at eighteen to twenty-one years of age from able-bodied men of good character. In all the larger forces they are given a thorough training in the elements of criminal law and police practice. Some of the smaller authorities send their men to the large cities for training. Birmingham offers an outstanding example of this type of service. Between 1920 and 1932, 1,492 men were trained for 22 county forces and 36 boroughs in the Birmingham police training school.

FIRE BRIGADES

The chief officer of the fire brigade is usually a member of the Institution of Fire Engineers or of

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the Institution of Mechanical Engineers. In many provincial towns there is a very close administrative connection between the fire department and the police department, and recruitment for the fire brigade is exactly the same as for the police. Training of firemen, however, is usually different and separate from that for the police. The brigades are small, and full-time paid forces are as a rule found only in boroughs. Few urban districts employ full-time brigades, most of them having volunteer forces. In the provinces where there are full-time brigades, new men are usually trained at the fire stations.

PARKS, CEMETERIES, ALLOTMENTS, COMMONS, AND OPEN SPACES, BATHS AND WASHHOUSES

These services are organized within separate departments, or form part of some other department. Where they are organized in separate departments, the chief officer is either a qualified surveyor or architect, or has had considerable experience in his particular sphere. In some cases horticultural experts are appointed, usually by county councils, for the administration of the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, and by certain health resorts which make a special feature of landscape and ornamental gardening.

An endeavour has been made to classify the major specialist appointments and to show how junior and

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other entrants to the service may rise to the highest positions. When it is realized that a local authority may adopt as many as five hundred designations for various posts in the service, it will be appreciated that it is impracticable to refer to them all (*See Appendix 3* for a list of officials employed by a large County Borough)

It is safe to say that they cover every profession, trade, and calling in every walk of life. For instance, chaplains of all denominations, organists, pathologists, journalists, publicity experts, restaurant managers, musicians, golfers, entertainment organizers, canvassers, salesmen, printing and stationery experts, ratcatchers, river pilots, ship's crews, water diviners, air raids precautions officers, are all employed by local authorities. Among the unusual duties performed by the officers of local authorities mention may be made of the administration of the Birmingham Municipal bank, of various Municipal golf courses, and of the Doncaster racecourse.

So far as there exist professional and technical qualifications appropriate to particular departments these have been mentioned in the foregoing survey. Apart from them, however, certain examinations of a general character which might legitimately be regarded as appropriate for lay officers in the service are conducted by various examining bodies. In the majority of cases these are not specially designed to meet the need of local government officers,

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although they have achieved wide recognition in the service

1 The examinations of the National Association of Local Government Officers which are designed to meet the needs of the "lay" officer in the service, include an intermediate examination comprising five subjects fundamental to local government, and a final examination comprising three compulsory subjects and two optional subjects, which are related to the work of the various departments of a local authority.

2. The examinations of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries are widely recognized in the commercial world and are fairly commonly taken by local government officers, since the secretarial subjects and the subjects "Law Relating to Municipalities," "Law Relating to Education" are useful and appropriate in the case of some of the departments of a local authority

3 *Diploma in Public Administration*—This is a Diploma awarded by universities after a course of study at the university which may be taken either internally or (in the case of the University of London) externally. It is more academic in character than the above-mentioned examinations and is intended to widen the view of the local government officer. Not infrequently officers who have already taken a professional, technical, or vocational examination present themselves for the academic diploma

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in public administration, whilst a number of lay officers for whom the recognized examinations are hardly appropriate take this diploma

This "in-training" is in the majority of cases done at the officer's own expense, and the study and attendance at classes is in the officer's private time. A few county councils, county boroughs and boroughs pay the fees of officers attending evening classes or pursuing their courses of study in their own time, and, in some cases, allow officers to attend day-time classes. Special examples to be noted are the Manchester Corporation, which pays the whole of the fees of officers taking approved courses and allows time off for study, and the Liverpool Corporation which pays half the fees for the Liverpool University Course in Public Administration. Other local authorities recognize the attainment of an Intermediate Diploma, and, later, a Final Diploma, by making monetary grants of an average of £15 for the Intermediate and £20 for the Final Examination, as an acknowledgment of the success and a contribution to the expenditure of the individual. A number of other authorities give a special increment to the salary of an officer, which accelerates his salary increments if he is in a particular grade.

Much, of course, is learned in the daily exercise of the officer's duties. In the case of promotion within the employing authority's service, efficiency, seniority, and examination successes are taken into

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account; on the other hand there is a considerable amount of movement from one authority to another. In every issue of the Municipal Press there are a number of vacancies advertised and the officer who wishes to rise to the highest positions in the service moves to another authority as soon as he feels that his experience and qualifications are recommendations. There is great merit in this practice

Appendix 4 gives a picture of an average weekly crop of posts vacant

Officers move about in order to gain further experience, and often an appointment will be taken which has a lower status under a larger authority in order to get into another class, and another range of higher appointments. For example, whilst this book was being written the town clerk of a small authority was appointed as deputy town clerk of a large borough. He therefore became a deputy instead of the principal officer, but he will probably be able to get a town clerkship of a bigger city from his present position more easily than he would from his previous position. He will certainly get a wider experience as the deputy town clerk of an important town.

A very important contribution to the setting up of a high standard of qualifications has been the action taken by the associations of officers. For many years now the professional and technical officers

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engaged in local government have banded themselves together into organizations and societies for the express purpose of studying their departmental problems, exchanging ideas and experience and setting a standard of qualifications of the highest grade. Many have set up their own examination tests and encouraged their staffs to sit for them. So long ago as 1886 the financial officers of local authorities set up an examination system which has become the recognized standard for financial officers in this country. The officers have themselves encouraged open competition for the best men and induced their councils when filling vacancies to make the possession of the appropriate examination certificate an indispensable qualification for the appointment. As the majority of the professional qualifications required are the same as those taken by men engaged in the various professions outside the service there is great virtue in this practice. The examination tests started by the officers themselves have been mainly in the field uncovered by the recognized public examinations. Unstinted tribute was paid to the contribution made by the officers themselves in this direction in the "Hadow" report. It said, "The local government service maintains to-day a high standard. We have heard little serious criticism of officers, and we have been favourably impressed by the evidence given on their behalf. The associations of officers have done a great deal to raise the standards of the service

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They have consistently, and, on the whole, successfully, laboured to secure the improved qualification of their members. We ourselves owe these associations our thanks for the assistance which they have given to us.”¹ In consequence of this policy there are very few chief financial officers who are not fully qualified accountants, and many were “honours” men in the examination of their year.

In the early days, and when sanitation was experimental, local authorities appointed unqualified men as sanitary inspectors. They had no alternative in the absence of trained men and when the duties were comparatively light, but the sanitary officers formed an association in 1883 and by voluntary effort they have kept pace with the growing importance of their work, and so furthered the knowledge of sanitary science that to-day they have raised the standard of qualification to that of a profession. The same can be said of many other sections of the service which were originally non-professional, particularly the rating and valuation officers, the weights and measures inspectors, the cleansing officers, the sewage works engineers and managers, the mental institution and hospital superintendents.

The Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants and the Incorporated Association of Rating and

¹ Report of the Departmental Committee on Qualifications, Recruitment, Training and Promotion of Local Government Officers

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Valuation Officers have formed students' societies; students preparing for the examinations conducted by these bodies are registered with the examining body and are grouped together for the purpose of meeting regularly to read papers and discuss current problems which arise during the course of their studies.

The National Association of Local Government Officers conducts correspondence courses for most of the examinations appropriate to the local government service. The tutors are either university teachers or men engaged in the local government service.

Nine universities have established degree or diploma courses in public administration. The curricula for the various diplomas vary a little from one university to another, and generally speaking, the courses necessitate attendance for two or three years at the university for evening lectures.

Finally, the National Association of Local Government Officers has done a great deal to encourage post-entry training in the local government service. The association conducts summer schools extending over a period of one week, at which officers of the local government service from all departments and from all types of local authority attend to hear lectures dealing with general problems of public administration, delivered by university professors or prominent members of the local government service.

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The association also offers exhibitions on the results of the intermediate stage of a number of professional, technical, and vocational examinations to encourage officers to prepare for the final examinations, and also offers scholarships on the results of the final examinations to enable officers to prepare for a university diploma in public administration, and prizes to assist officers to attend the association's summer schools. The association also possesses a lending library from which an officer may obtain books required in his studies for a recognized examination or any book dealing with public administration. In addition, loans are granted to members for educational purposes, so that an officer need not be prevented from taking his professional, technical, or vocational qualification by reason of financial difficulty. Thus the officers' own organization recognizes the need for post-entry training and has placed every facility at the disposal of its members to encourage such training.

While it is generally true that the majority of the staffs of local government authorities train whilst they are in the service, there are occasions when appointments are made from outside the service. Occasionally a man in private practice secures an important appointment. Other cases can be quoted when officials of the central government have obtained posts in local government. But it should be emphasized that in these exceptional instances, the

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appointments have been secured in open competition and after the issue of a public advertisement. Appointments have also been made of persons engaged in private practice when local authorities have entered into a new sphere of activity. For instance, when "housing" first entered into the field of public administration, experts had to be appointed by local authorities, and by the force of circumstances those officers were only to be found outside the service.

While the majority of the chief officers are recruited within the service, our local councils do not believe in "home town jobs for home town boys," to use the American slogan. There is a widespread practice of advertising all vacancies in the Press and throwing them open to the whole service. This is good for the service and the officer. Movement from authority to authority is the greatest asset we possess in training local government officers. The young folk who get out of their "home town" as soon as their qualification and experience wings will carry them are wise, they are in a different class from the moment they make their first move. There is something different in every town and the best experience can be gained by moving to places which are bigger and which have a wider range of activities, although in the early days of this process the smaller authority gives scope for a more comprehensive training because it is not departmentalized to the same degree as a large authority.

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It is a great contribution to efficiency to get "responsibility" at an early age. A man who does not take on some degree of responsibility before he is thirty-five years of age will probably fail to respond if it comes his way for the first time later in life. This constant movement aerates the service, it seasons the official, and gives confidence to the council and the public. A man who rises to the most important position in his "home-town" authority, no matter how good he may be at his job, will always be remembered by some as "little so-and-so who started as so-and-so."

There is probably no other occupation or vocation in which a greater amount of intraining, study, and moving about for experience is practised than in the British local government service.

CHAPTER IV

Joint Councils

We should not accept the libel on human nature that it is only under the perpetual stimulant of daily fluctuations of profit and loss that man will do his best work

SIR ARTHUR SALTER

DURING 1916, the government set up a committee, entitled "The Committee on Relations between Employers and Employed" under the Chairmanship of Rt. Hon J. H. Whitley, M P, which recommended the establishment of joint councils and committees representative of employers and employees to deal with all matters of mutual concern affecting any particular industry and thus effect a great advance in industrial harmony. When it was made clear that the recommendations applied equally to the civil service and the local government service, representatives of the associations of local authorities and of the officers' associations held a joint meeting, approved a constitution, and appointed their respective representatives

On the employers' side there were represented the Association of Municipal Corporations; the County Councils Association; the Urban District Councils Association, the Rural District Councils Association, and the London County Council. On the officers' side the National Association of Local Government

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Officers had the preponderance of seats because of its overwhelming superiority of membership amongst local government officers. There were two other Trade Unions represented by four delegates.

Although this national joint council held its first formal meeting in February 1920 and its last meeting before the end of that year, it thoroughly justified its existence during that time, in providing ample guidance for the service by drafting and issuing model constitutions for (a) provincial councils; (b) local joint committees; taking active steps towards the formation of the provincial councils; and by publishing to all local authorities in the country a national minimum scale of salaries and recommendations with regard to conditions of service.

The dissolution of the National Joint Council did not affect the continuance of the few provincial councils that were being established towards the end of 1920. There are three of these councils still functioning—the London Council which is supported by twenty out of the twenty-eight Metropolitan Boroughs covering an estimated number of officers of just over 4,000, the Lancashire and Cheshire Council embracing local authorities with a total official personnel of over 21,000, the West Riding Council operating for an area in which no less than 10,000 officers are employed. The success of these councils and a renewal of propaganda efforts have created quite a revival in Whitleyism during the last two years.

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A North Wales Council was set up on April 21, 1933, covering the whole of the authorities in North Wales and it is now functioning quite effectively. A North Eastern Whitley Council, embracing the counties of Northumberland and Durham and the Cleveland District of Yorkshire, and another representing the authorities and officers in the Isle of Wight, are in course of formation at the present time. A Whitley Council to cover the whole of Scotland has also been formed, but at the date of writing this paragraph not all the representatives had been appointed by their respective authorities, and the first formal meeting had not been held.

Throughout the remainder of the country propaganda has been vigorously conducted during the past few years, when there seemed to be a renaissance of interest in this subject, with the result that there is a growing demand within local government, coming both from the authorities and from the officers, for the establishment of machinery similar to that which has been described earlier in this chapter.

Each provincial council has done a splendid piece of work within its own area. Each has issued a brochure setting out in detail a programme of service conditions covering

- I *Establishment of Provincial Council—Conditions formulated*
- II *Recruitment Scheme—Admission of Juniors to Local Government Service—Vacancies to be advertised—*

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- Standard of Education required—Age—Probation—Facilities to continue Study after Appointment—Examination Syllabus—Equivalent Certificate
- III *Classification, etc , of Staff*—Object of Scheme, Definition of Staff—Exemptions—Grades and Salaries—Establishment — Classification — Promotion—Admission to Higher Posts—Merit—Chief Officials—Grievances
- IV *Retiral Age and Allowance*—Superannuation Recommended—"Hadow" Report—1922 Act Summarized—Observations, etc
- V *Miscellaneous Matters*—Temporary Staff—Holidays—Office Hours—Sickness Payments—Overtime
- VI *Hospital and Institution Employees*—Grouping of Employees—Classification—Grouping of Authorities—Remuneration — Emoluments — Working Hours — Sickness Payments—Holidays—Payments in lieu of Rations—National Health Insurance

During 1925, arrangements were made for periodical conferences to be held by representatives of the provincial councils, under the title of the Standing Conference of Joint Councils. This Standing Conference was dissolved on September 19, 1936, and, in its place, a National Joint Council was formed. This council has received the "blessing" of the Minister of Labour, who has appointed a liaison officer to attend its meetings.

In its constitution this National Council differs from that set up in 1920. The latter was composed of representatives of Local Authorities' Associations and the Officers' Associations and Unions, but the new National Council is constituted of representatives of the provincial councils actually function-

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ing Each provincial council sends six representatives, three from the employers' side and three from the employees' side, and as new provincial councils are established they will be entitled to appoint their quota of representatives. The functions of the new National Council are set out in the official brochure, and are as follows

To secure the largest possible measure of joint action between employers and employed for the development of local government administration.

It shall be permissible for the Council to take any action that falls within the scope of the foregoing general definition. Amongst its more specific objects will be the consideration of matters hereinafter mentioned

- (a) The establishment of Provincial Councils and Local Committees on the lines put forward in the Whitley Reports, having regard in each case to any such organization as may already be in existence
- (b) Measures for regularizing the service conditions and employment of Local Government Officers
- (c) The settlement of differences between parties and sections in the service, and the establishment of machinery for this purpose, where it does not already exist, with the object of securing speedy settlement
- (d) The collection of statistics and information, as and when agreed, on matters appertaining to the services
- (e) The encouragement of the study of methods of administration, design and research, with a view to improving the services
- (f) The provision of facilities for the utilization of inventions and improvement in machinery or method, and for the adequate safeguarding of the rights of the designers of such improvements, and to secure that such improvements in method or invention shall give to all parties

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concerned an equitable share of the benefits, financially or otherwise, arising therefrom.

- (g) Inquiries into special problems of the services, including the comparative study of the organization and methods of the services in this and other countries, and, where desirable, the publication of reports
- (h) The improvement of the health conditions of those employed in the services concerned, and the provision of special treatment, where necessary
- (i) The supervision of the entry into, and the training for and in the services, and co-operation with the educational authorities in arranging in all its branches for the same
- (j) Representation of the needs and opinions of the services to Parliament, Government Departments, and other Authorities
- (k) Any other matters affecting the services generally that may be referred to it by Parliament, any Government Department or other Authority.
- (l) Measures for securing the inclusion of all local authorities and administrative, technical and clerical staffs in their respective associations
- (m) The arrangement of lectures and the holding of conferences on subjects of general interest to the services
- (n) Co-operation with other Joint Councils on questions of common interest

The council seeks to cover what is a comparatively small residue of the public service, when one considers the huge numbers covered by similar systems operating for civil servants, teachers, police, electrical engineers, technical staffs in the electricity departments, fire brigades, mental hospital officers, and local government manual workers—both trading and non-trading.

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At a conference of representatives of local authorities held in Manchester in November 1934, the Minister of Labour (The Rt Hon Oliver Stanley, M.P.), in referring to the work of the Lancashire and Cheshire Council, which had then been operating for fourteen years, said "One point in connection with your own particular work which we cannot afford to ignore is the effect that your council, and the results of its work, have had upon local government staffs in general. It is the feeling of security which you have given, the feeling that their conditions are dependent not upon a breeze or political tempest which may blow favourably one moment and unfavourably the next, but upon a broadly accepted line of policy throughout the country. It is that feeling of security which so immeasurably enhances their status, and so immeasurably improves their opportunity of doing good and valuable work."

For many years it has been considered that for every service and industry there should be some representative body that can speak authoritatively on its behalf, and a chain of provincial joint councils, linked up to a National Council, will do all that is necessary on that score in local government.

Local joint councils and provincial joint councils of the local authorities and their staffs cannot fail to be useful if all who take part in their deliberations accept the true principles of Whitleyism. Those principles, so far as the local government service is

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concerned, can be defined as the common endeavour of both employers and officials to realize each other's problems, establish full confidence in one another, and attain a standard of efficiency in local public administration to the ultimate benefit of the community which both parties serve. That can only be done by goodwill, but it is worth striving for. It is not often realized that the local government service needs Whitleyism more than industry. That may sound strange when we remember that so far as the administrative and clerical staffs of local authorities are concerned, there is no record of the settlement of differences by what may be termed a "trial of strength between employer and employee."

The nature of local government legislation has been decided by the consequences of the herding of large masses of the population in urban areas, the ever increasing speed at which we live, as well as the emergence of an era which demands collective management of human beings. What was once legislation by easy stages, and of an optional character, has been transformed by circumstances which no one could control into a spate of compulsory enactments, which have made the system of local government so complex and exacting that it has almost got beyond the ability of those who so willingly give their time and services voluntarily to public work.

Local government administration now requires a paid staff personnel of experts of every kind. Whilst

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the gradual evolution of the present system of local government has been taking place, there has remained unchanged the relationship between the elected representatives—the employers—and the ratepayers. County, town, and district councillors are still the custodians of the ratepayers' interests. Both sides recognize that; but it is not so frankly admitted by the elected representatives that a person who becomes a member of a council takes upon himself the full responsibilities of an important employer of staff. It is the balance of those two functions which can be adjusted to a nicety by a form of Whitleyism, if that dualism is accepted.

The more thoughtful members of councils already know that whilst the work of local authorities is divided into several more or less watertight departments, the ultimate objective is a balance of services which collectively mean local government in its best sense. That is to say, no one department is more important than the rest. All play a necessary part in providing essential public services. On the other side of the table, the officials' qualifications and degree of expertness are becoming more general and national in character. Local government is a profession and requires specialist training.

The local government officer is a human being and responds to encouragement like his opposite number in business, but that which stimulates him to give his best is not always confined to monetary

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reward There are alternative conditions of service to which he attaches as much importance His position leaves him open to public ridicule and criticism, and the only sedative is the feeling that he deserves and possesses the full confidence of the council which he serves

Whitleyism can be a powerful bulwark against the consequences of ill-conceived criticism and so can benefit both parties The first essential to success is a proper understanding by councillors and officials of the relationship between local government, the central government, and the general welfare and happiness of the community The next is to find a proper equation of work values in local government based upon the special qualities of the officers, at the same time taking into full account the fact that the public officer cannot expect the financial rewards of commercial success as well as the value of continuity of employment and a certain degree of security of tenure of office

It is not possible to leave out of consideration in arriving at that equation general economic and commercial values, but it is a vital need of the moment that local government service conditions should not be unduly influenced by the fluctuating fortunes of private interests

Any impartial observer who has had practical experience in local government must admit that the attitude of the average officer towards his work

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demonstrates that he has a sense of responsibility and a line of approach to his job which are above mercenary motives. It is fundamentally wrong to assume that the establishment of Whitley councils means the relinquishment of control on the part of the employer. Whitleyism is a piece of machinery designed to foster complete confidence between the employer and the employee, and it can be just as effective in times of difficulty as in times of success. The settlement of disputes by force is crazy. The only satisfactory solution of any problem is by mutual consent. A man who will not support Whitleyism because he wants to be "master in his own house" is not big enough to be a master, he is only just big enough to say no and stick to it.

It is usually the little things in life which have the most enervating effect. Most local government officers have learned to attach more than passing importance to those small considerations which cost very little in money, but which go a long way towards compensating them for that loss of monetary reward which goes with commercialism. Where the true spirit of Whitleyism is manifest we have the happiest local government service conditions. There is no alternative method known which can so effectively pick up the ragged ends of service conditions and adjust those anomalies which, if left unattended, can very easily develop into grievances. It lifts the harsh methods of driving bargains by interviews into

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the quiet realms of statesmanship. If both sides can feel possessed of the confidence of those who elect them and remember at all times that where they sow they may expect to reap, Whitleyism cannot fail.

If we could only commute into Whitleyism one tithe of the "goodwill" professed in after-dinner speeches, this country would be a much happier place in which to live.

CHAPTER V

The Study of Public Administration

I have faith in my country and its institutions. I believe in the importance of my job and in the dignity of all public service. I count myself fortunate to live and work in a city where I may obtain public employment through competition fairly won and under a system which permits me to look forward to a career as a public employee and advancement through merit.

I know that government is no better than the people who direct its affairs and do its work. I will be honest, loyal, and industrious in the work I have to do. I will be courteous in my relations with my superiors, my fellow-workers, and the public. I will use public property entrusted to my care for the purpose intended and protect and conserve it as though it were my own.

I will refrain from doing anything that will bring discredit upon the city as my employer or upon me as a civil servant. I will strive through my acts and my work to realize the purposes for which Government is established and so merit the esteem and respect of the people.

"Public Employee's Pledge," *The American City*, Nov. 1934.

THE first step towards a satisfying study of public administration is to understand its source. Local government has a background, and one which is more closely concerned with the welfare of the people than any other influence. It is not suggested for a moment that this historical data can be easily found, because the orthodox history of this nation pays very little attention to the ordinary folk, who have always made up the bulk of the community. There have

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always been more ordinary folk than soldiers, and in the main, the preservation and uplift of the former is the responsibility of public administration. There are no text books, but there are "blue" books, and a fund of social information in the reports of Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees. It is, therefore, vitally important to all students that they should get a clear idea of what is meant by the term "public administration" It means a good deal more than the passing of a professional examination or the study of office management, costing, and financial control The methods which make for efficiency under those headings are not peculiar to the public service No one would claim for a moment, that different mathematical formulae should be used by a local authority in building a bridge from those which would be used by a private firm of engineers Nor can we admit that the accounts of a municipal authority can be made to balance by methods unknown to a chartered accountant in private practice

We must, then, accept that a large amount of work done in public offices is identical in methods and system with that done by a vast army of clerical and administrative workers in other walks of life. In the local government service this is proved by the fact that the majority of the officers have to sit the same examinations as their opposite numbers in industry and private practice And it may be said

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here with some advantage that until the local government machine is reconstructed or superseded by a new one, those professional and technical qualifications will be the deciding factors for promotion in the service

We can assume for the moment that "public administration" can be termed a "social or communal science" It is social because it seeks to maintain and advance the conditions of the community; it is science because it can measure the changes from which it springs "Its exactitude renders it a science, and its disinterestedness renders it social"¹

Any course of study in "public administration" should be designed to give the student a liberal understanding of the environment under which he serves, to make him realize the significance of his own particular work in relation to the greater objective of the administrative machine, and the relationship of that machine to national life as a whole While administrative, legal, and financial methods cannot be entirely left out of account, the study of public administration should give him a clear understanding of the problems which concern the community and its environment Furthermore, a course of study which does not give the impression that its conclusion leaves one only at the starting point of thought, has failed A course of study in

¹ T V Smith and Leonard White, *Chicago, An Experiment in Social Science Research*

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public administration which does not kindle the spark of imagination and a desire for research, has also failed

That study should even do more than demonstrate the "whys" and "wherefores" of government and local government, and it must go much deeper than the study of a subject as a qualification for a job. It must bring into play the "senses" as well as the "brain" if the public service is to be made a successful career occupation. I am thinking now more of the actual interpretation of public administration for the benefit and everyday use of the consumer, and in that sense local government is more important than the central government.

It may be a necessary preliminary to "unlearn" as it were, many of the notions which have held the field of precepts since the days of *laissez-faire*, if we are to know the answers to our critics. Our knowledge of the subject should enable us to turn the tables on the scaremonger who declares, for example, that government interferes too much in business. Quite apart from the fact that the interference of government in business appears trifling when compared with the constant and ever watchful interference of business interests in government, it is probably true to say that whenever government has intruded upon industry that has been primarily due to the fact that the business concerned has failed to solve its own problems.

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The ability to measure social phenomena, and to plan in step with their needs, is becoming more and more urgent. We can calculate the price we pay to-day for the inability of our governmental forefathers to measure the trend of social movements. It is knowledge which must come from the study of public administration, if we are to avoid the sophism of the administrative quack, and if we are to be able to answer, as we should, the charlatans of the public expenditure goose fair.

If we feel we cannot *believe* in public administration we should get out of it. I say this because I am convinced that there are many practising local government officials, and still more councillors, who steadfastly refuse to look local government straight in the face. If they did so, I am afraid it would have a similar effect upon them as the sight of naked Christianity upon many professing Christians.

Whilst the day to day problems are of first importance, and many will claim that these are so numerous and urgent that there is time for neither recreation nor contemplation, there must be an "ultimate goal" in mind. Call it vision if you like, but the talkers call it planning. It is not, in my opinion, the function of a local government official to originate new systems of a character unrelated to normal changes, but he should use research to measure social trends and then proceed to anticipate their effect.

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Social processes are real—they come and go—whether the individual likes or dislikes them. Social phenomena can be measured by the application of modern methods of enquiry, that is a laborious but comparatively safe procedure, and material of this nature should be available to every local authority. Some men have a natural gift for anticipating the needs of the future, and when the truth of their common-sense ideas has dawned upon others, they are said to have worked with vision. There is much more joy in being a ragged-trousered pioneer of ideas which are twenty-five years "before their time" than in being a Beau Brummel of common practice. The local government officer of the future must know these things. It is by this quality and by this alone, that we can put economy into public administration.

The real financial burden of local government is not the cost of doing things, but of undoing them. The time lag between the appearance of an unmistakable social symptom and the passing of the necessary Act of Parliament is the most expensive characteristic of the British nation. Nothing else comes anywhere near it.

Economics enter into our field of study, but not the economics of the professional economist. He shows by an elaborate system of reasoning what are the influences that have produced a given result and then he proceeds to prove that exactly the same result will recur provided all the predisposing causes hap-

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pen in exactly the same order. But as they never do, the theories are not much use as a guide for the future. The professional economist has no time for public administration, but in spite of all that there is "economics" in derelict areas, in insanitary working-class dwellings, and in contaminated milk and foodstuffs. The starting of a new industry in a rural area means that new public expenditure in local government services will be made necessary. That may be a local advantage, but whether it is a *national* advantage depends upon a number of other factors, e.g. whether it means abandonment of similar local services already provided in another area.

Figures are available to show the adverse effect on industrial efficiency from loss of time through certain diseases, such as rheumatism, but there is no formula by which we can measure the contribution to industrial and commercial prosperity from the administration of local services which are not the concern of any particular industry. The complexities of town life and the speed at which we live compel the services of a local authority to be interrelated, and therefore there is no department more important than the rest. Transport must have roads, schools and workshops must have transport, business houses must have a call upon educated youth; youth must be healthy; health is dependent upon decent houses; and homes must have water, light, and drainage conveniences. Infectious diseases must be kept in

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check, clinics and hospitals must be available for those who are ill as well as homes for the destitute and infirm. Facilities for recreation and reading are as essential as facilities for work. Protection must be afforded by police, fire fighters, and the inspectional services. All these vital necessities to urban life have passed beyond theory, they are expected, and have come to be accepted to such an extent that we could only measure their importance if they suddenly ceased to exist.

It will be an augury of the dawn of civilization when the first medical officer of health or sanitary inspector is buried in St Paul's Cathedral or Westminster Abbey—if a niche can be found for one whose life's endeavour was to give health and prolong life, amongst those whose fame lay mainly in the direction of shortening it!

Although the responsibility for the policy of public administration must rest with the elected representatives of the people, the advice of the executive must go beyond technicalities and legalities. The officer must study trends. He must be trained in "long-term" policy, otherwise, the "permanency" of his office will have no virtue. To achieve this, there must be both a technique and a philosophy of public administration. The product of this theory is only possible if those who are entrusted with the administration of enactments understand the forces which compelled those enactments to be passed, as

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well as the sections of the Acts and the Rules and Regulations which interpret them

When the universities were first approached with the suggestion that they should institute courses in "public administration," the proposal was met with the reply that the ground was already covered by social science subjects which formed part of several other degree courses. To some extent that was true, but the doubt in my own mind was whether those subjects were taught with a bias in favour of, or against, public administration, and with the object of producing the type of mind which is essential to success in business rather than in the local public service

When one looks at the past, and realizes how deeply-rooted has been the antipathy to government, how public opinion has been nurtured on the idea that "individualism" was the only incentive to achievement, that the central and local government services were a burden on industry, one is entitled to doubt the suitability of the old social science course of study.

I wonder whether a first-class honours man entering private practice or business will have to readjust his ideas on government to anything like the same extent as one who enters the public service? The measurement of that readjustment would be a test

Universities and technical institutions have for years included in their curricula subjects which they

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have termed the social sciences, but until recently they have not visualized anyone studying those subjects, except the amateur. Public administration is professional "Sociology."

We can learn much from an understanding of the causes of change in governmental systems, and, moreover, we can benefit just as much from a true measurement of the part played in bringing about those changes by the neglect and abuse of authority and trust. A sympathetic understanding of the causes referred to will make local government very human.

We must learn from the shortcomings of some, study the technique of others, and above all, project our thinking above standards set by business men, politicians, and the advocates of obsolete theories. We must understand the forces that have changed the character of public administration. They are not the adaptation of theories, but the consequential adjustments of official behaviour to the needs of an ever-changing social order.

The trend of change is more marked to-day than at any previous period of recorded history. That the consequences of indifference to such a natural force must always be discontent indicates only the tremendous responsibility which rests upon those who accept office in the public service.

We have also come to realize that there is not only a financial nexus between the central and local authorities, but an administrative one as well.

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We are now learning that there can be a form of public administration which is neither central nor local, a new hybrid which has not yet been classified—the B B C, the Electricity Commissioners, and the London Passenger Transport Board are examples which come readily to my mind. The various Marketing Boards may not be in the same category, but they are worth noting. These are new alternatives to private and public control. They have set in motion new forces which compel fresh adjustments at several points. These modern trends indicate quite clearly that nothing can be regarded as static. We cannot write "finish" to anything but our own lives.

Although we have the assurance of the Minister of Health that the government does not contemplate forcing the pace, Mr Herbert Morrison recently asked the Minister of Health during question time in the House, whether His Majesty's Government were considering the reorganization of local government in various parts of the country on a regional basis, and whether he could make any statement on the matter. Sir Kingsley Wood gave an emphatic "No!" but he continued: "I am glad to have an opportunity of clearing up misunderstanding which appears to have arisen. The recommendations of the Tyneside Commissioners raised certain general principles, and I thought it proper that I should have the benefit of the advice on this general matter of the associations of local authorities in the provinces,

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with whom I accordingly communicated, as well as the observations of the local authorities particularly concerned I do not expect that the associations will be in a position to furnish me with their observations for some time yet I should add that the particular recommendations of the Commissioners in regard to the organization of local government on the Tyneside are still under consideration, and I have not yet received the observations relating to that issue of all the local authorities concerned ”

Some quick and serious thinking is necessary We have the Tyneside Report, a speaker at this year's British Association meeting forecasting the ultimate concentration of the population in half a dozen great urban centres; the urge to break down large urban populations into communities of limited size for better community service organization, the parish council enthusiast, and several other schools of thought These problems are public administration Local government officers of every grade should give them thought, enlightenment may come from the most unexpected quarter—perhaps from a comparatively junior member of the service.

CHAPTER VI

The Officer and Public Opinion

"An innocent man with enemies may be in a more dangerous position than a guilty one with friends and influence"

It is not an accident that public opinion is generally biased against local government. There is a simple and understandable reason for this phenomenon. Everyone has consciously or unconsciously acquired a philosophy of life, and in the majority of cases each one's philosophy is made up of a haphazard, thrown-together accumulation of traditional beliefs, orthodoxes and catch phrases which become a menace to reason. "They have a currency," said Robert Louis Stevenson, "as intellectual counters, and many respectable people pay their way with nothing else. To have a catchword in your mouth is not the same thing as to hold an opinion, still less is it the same thing as to have made one yourself."

Scattered pretty freely amongst this mental junk which we will call a philosophy, will be found a large number of scraps of faith in the superiority of business over public administration. These concepts have been absorbed over a period of at least two hundred and fifty years, from the time when the accumulation of wealth was the incentive to the

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development of trade and commerce. The promise of reward in commerce, trade, and private enterprise was the most alluring when public administration was unformed, when it had no definition. It is true, I think, to say that public administration is only a consequence of the progress in trade, commerce, and unrestrained individualism.

In comparison with the progress in scientific and mechanical achievement, the advance in the quality of thought has remained almost stationary. The human mind is still limited to comparisons in judging values. It is impossible to imagine good without bad, to visualize punishment without reward, and to measure public administration except in relation to private profit. That is why the business man's contempt for the public servant rises *pari passu* with his bank balance, and as he gets nearer and nearer to the bankruptcy court the more he shrieks "sheltered occupation" at the town clerk!

Whether or not we resent the natural bias against public administration in the mind of "the man in the street" does not alter the fact that it is a very real thing, and it must not be ignored. At least the prestige, if not the remuneration, of local government officers, is a reflection of the place which local government has in the estimation of the ratepayers.

Uncontrolled individualism has had a long and successful innings, for the few, and there is a whole world of difference between the methods which have

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contributed to success in that field of activity and the "safety first" policy of public administration.

A mistake which many people make is in not recognizing that there must always be a difference in the policies of public administration and business, but not necessarily in administrative technique. Business efficiency methods are just as necessary in a public office as in a commercial house. It is a difficult task to persuade those engaged in private occupations that there can be just as much scope for initiative and energy in the public services as in industry. Ample proof of this can be found in the achievements of the post office engineers and in the constructional side of local government. The prejudice against local government is not based on fact, it is a legacy of ridicule, and it is revived periodically by comic cartoonists and red-nosed comedians. A good example of this is the monologue reciting the attempts and the failures of a man who tried many jobs. He finally got a position as a collector of the money put into gas meters. After a month or so he received a letter asking why he had not called at the town hall for his wages. When he read the letter he exclaimed, "And do I get a wage as well?"

The effect of that story on the minds of an audience is not unimportant to the point I am now making. If the same story were told of any particular business house it would probably lead to an action for libel. Take for example the incident concerning a certain

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well-known radio comedian and his little joke at the expense of a famous transatlantic liner—the vibration of which, he said, was so great that if a passenger ordered a boiled egg it was scrambled by the time the steward got it to the dining-table. That joke brought a strong protest to the B.B.C. from the shipping company.

There are dozens of similar stories told in a book, *The Lighter Side of Local Government*,¹ collected by Mr. C. Kent Wright, the Town Clerk of Stoke Newington. We tell these stories ourselves and we enjoy them with the rest of the community. And it is of first-rate significance that we should. When we are prohibited from laughing at an official, then shall we be governed by a horrible monster. We must see the “funny side” of our job, and if there is some truth in the satire, then let us remove the cause.

It is unfortunate, perhaps, that the public official should find his job surrounded with the prejudice of a bygone age. But he must not be too thin-skinned. On the other hand, each one has a personal responsibility in helping to adjust the balance of public opinion in favour of local government. It will not rectify itself, especially as the field of propaganda has been in the sole possession of the enemy for centuries. This “public opinion” is influenced by the traditional official mind of the civil servant. The official mind is the result of a training in consistency, never taking

¹ London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

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the risk of interpretation, and speaking for a Minister and not for himself. It is symbolized in the wording used on official forms, for example, the income-tax returns, and perhaps more particularly by the commencement of every official letter, "I am directed by the Minister." All this has been boiled down to a term. "Red Tape." But "Red Tape" is not by any means what the average objector thinks it is. The late Mr. John Lee, whose thoughts have been a real contribution to the public service, lecturing on the "Psychology of the Civil Servant," said, "Red tape is the symbol not of inefficiency but of ultra-deliberate thought, and this is not necessarily an evil. We have learned that there is a far longer chain of causation than the business world assumes, that there are more factors which are relevant, that balanced inquiry is not to be brought to a firm and just conclusion between the whiffs of a superman's cigar."

At the same time, we have come to realize that "officialese" is out of date. Letters written to the ratepayers should be as friendly as possible, and as free from official terms as possible. We can reword most of the official forms with advantage, if we will borrow the confidence-creating phraseology of the business house. Do not, for goodness' sake, *demand* the rates. The butcher does not demand his money, and he is just as entitled to it. I am prepared to admit that the changes that have taken place on

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these lines have been most marked during the last decade or so, but we have still a long way to go. Let us study these questions as though they were a modern discovery. Every professional and technical society of local government officers should spend a considerable amount of time on the subject of this chapter and evolve a technique. What is the advantage of being efficient if the public hate the sight of us?

The next and perhaps more disastrous influences on public opinion are the everyday phrases used by taxpayers and ratepayers, which spring from a long-standing belief that government is not as efficient as business, that every pound spent on rates is a pound that cannot be invested or saved; that rates are a burden on industry and trade, and so on. These are phrases and catchwords which have been handed down from generation to generation, and there is not a single one that can withstand an unbiased examination. But they ring like profound truths in the ears of the critic of public administration. They are precious legacies. There are millions of men and women who, if they did not inherit all their ideas of life and business, would be mentally penniless. They shudder at the thought of using someone else's tooth brush, but are quite insensitive to the far more degenerating practice of using thoughts that have been kept warm in the skulls of their ancestors for generations. A new idea to such minds would be

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just as stimulating as a cold bath to a person in the last throes of pneumonia.

The same people expect a local authority to be as successful as a business house, but deny it many of the facilities of business men on the grounds of public economy. There is, for example, an instinctive dislike of a corporation official, or even the mayor, having the use of that very modern necessity—a motor-car. Yet a certain well-known medical practitioner, who would willingly have kept his expenses down for the benefit of his patients, frankly confessed that most of them preferred an expensive car standing at their doors to a cheap one. The same persons have a rooted objection to paying their small contribution to the public health services, which are designed to keep the doctor away as much as possible.

When a business man fails he is the victim of an economic blizzard or something akin to that glorious safeguard in an insurance policy—"an act of God." Local government is his "bogey." A sailor has his "jonah" which excuses his own lack of ability. The practice of these things is understandable, but blind belief in them is a tragedy.

There may at one time or another have been incidents in public administration which justified some of the phrases, but their persistence is due to a definite policy to discourage any tendency towards a widespread belief in either the efficiency or the economic value of public services. And the most

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serviceable ally of that opinion is the inability of persons in business to measure the value of public administration by the only yardstick they possess—a profit and loss account. Some adjustments have to be made at vital points of view if we are to get a correct assessment of public administration. And the first is to admit that it cannot be judged by the philosophy of the counting house. The local government officer can do a great deal to influence those adjustments if he will. He has a personal responsibility to the service to do so. On the whole there is a quiet and widespread belief in the integrity of the public servant of this country; that a caricature of him amuses us is proof of that. We could not laugh at anything which we really felt to be danger.

The power to influence public opinion is not solely within the keeping of the official. It is often a reflection of the rather peculiar attitude towards local government of the candidate who appeals to the electors for their votes. The appeal is so seldom wholehearted. One can hardly imagine a prospective councillor appealing to the electorate on a promise to do everything in his power to make the town the finest in the kingdom, a place which would resemble a Roman city in the hey-day of the Empire's glory, when, as Tertullian says, "public spirited citizens, civic pride, and keen urban rivalries combined to produce a brilliant municipal life."

The prospective councillor who can only put

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forward a case tantamount to asking the voters to keep the other fellow out, is only encouraging the continuance of that very acceptable notion "that there is something wrong somewhere" And it is surprising how many people are ready to believe that there is something wrong in everything which is not immediately under their personal control

Would anyone aspiring to become a director of an important business concern give confidence to the shareholders if he said "Vote for me," to quote from a recent address, "because I have lived in the

Ward almost thirty years and been a lifelong resident in the district, which I claim should fit me to deal with matters concerning the government of the district in a fair, far-sighted, and business-like manner I am in favour of the utmost economy in public expenditure, consistent with efficiency in the maintenance of Public Services If I am elected I shall use every effort to attend the meetings, and do my utmost to add to the general improvement and prosperity of the district "

I have examined a large number of municipal election addresses, and I find there are very few that set out the aspirant's qualifications for managing a town On the other hand, I find a sentence running through most of them like an infectious rash "I am in favour of efficiency with economy " It is a "cure-all" phrase, but I am perfectly sure the user of it would have a shock if he were asked to give

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a detailed explanation of what he means. The public get the idea that there is a serious need for *more efficiency*, and when one thinks of efficiency one thinks of the officer, and the word *economy* has no other significance to most people than *spending less*.

On this point it may be useful to quote from a letter written by Edmund Burke to a noble lord "It may be new to his Grace, but I beg leave to tell him, that mere parsimony is not economy . . . Expense and great expense may be an essential part in true economy. . . Economy is a distributive virtue, and consists not in saving but in selection Parsimony requires no providence, no sagacity, no powers of combination, no comparison in judgment, mere instinct, and that not an instinct of the noblest kind, may produce this false economy in perfection The other economy has larger views It demands a discriminating judgment, and a firm sagacious mind " How often is that blessed word economy used in its negative sense on the local government election platform?

Again, we are handicapped with a very poor sense of government amongst the public, and that provides a fertile field for the growth of many distressing opinions As a matter of fact there is a much greater degree of incompetence in citizenship than in city management Few people are prepared to give much time to a real effort to understand the causes from which local government springs and even to making

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a rough and ready calculation of the value which they get for their rates I am sure there are many members of the public who do not want to know the whole story. They have settled opinions on that score, and to disturb them would be the equivalent of pulling up their economic moorings and setting them adrift with a boxed mental compass. Remember their philosophy of life, and how they have acquired it! Imagine the consternation that would be caused if all the newspapers of the country simultaneously announced in their best heavy type that we got good value for our rates and taxes. Many people would be less offended if they were asked to be friends with Russia than to be asked to believe that.

There are other contributory factors in the making of "public opinion," and these primarily concern the officer. One is inefficiency, and the other, the misuses or usurpation of authority. Both points are important, but they are dealt with at some length in another chapter.

These are some of the influences which are responsible for that tilt in public opinion against local government, the consequences of which are that local government officers are always pulling against the stream. The officer cannot afford to ignore this background to public opinion, neither can he hope to gain anything by resentment or indignation. He must adjust his thinking to the long-term objective

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of transforming that lingering tradition of the age of *laissez-faire*, and determine to use both the instruments and the technique of the "other side" It is my firm conviction after a long experience in local government that the officer gets both the public and the council he deserves

There is a wonderful story to be told of local government and its value to the community. But before it can be told the officer must know it, and know it very thoroughly It is first necessary that he should believe in his job; believe in local government and its purpose I am afraid there are still too many practising local government officers who, when they leave their homes in the morning attired in the official dress of pin-striped trousers, black coat, and newspaper, would much rather be mistaken for something in the city than somebody at the city hall!

On the other side of the picture, the official has the satisfaction of knowing that whenever a Royal Commission or a Departmental Committee examines our public services, tribute is always paid to the efficiency of the staff and the integrity of the service One outstanding pronouncement on this score was in the Bridgeman Report

A few pertinent questions had to be faced and answered by the committee. They were in the nature of criticisms, and had been levelled not only at the post office and its employees, but at the public

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services generally. The committee realized that the rather generalized charges were not readily susceptible of definition, but formulated them as follows

- (1) An absence of the spirit of public service, among certain sections of the staff—an attitude of indifference instead of a desire to help the public
- (2) A lack of initiative and an absence of elasticity and imagination in adjusting service to meet the reasonable variations in the public demand, prompt action is thought to be hampered by “red tape” and dilatory procedure
- (3) In general, an absence of the commercial outlook necessary for the efficient conduct of what is, at any rate, to a large extent, a business concern
- (4) A failure in regard to the Telephone and Telegraph Services, which are of a highly technical character, to give proper scope to the engineer, whereby technical progress is impeded

Whilst the Report of the Committee embodied recommendations to alter several fundamental parts of the present structure of organization and staff management the “generalized charges” were answered in the following words

In so far as concerns the general attitude of those sections of the Post Office Staff who come into contact with the public,

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we believe that the charges of positive discourtesy made against the Post Office Staff are exaggerated. Instances do, and must, almost inevitably occur in so large a concern, but the fault is not invariably on the side of the staff, nor can this failing be said to be unknown in commercial organizations or in Public Utility undertakings.

As regards the Telephone Service independent evidence tended to show that, in general, the quality of the staff is excellent.

It has been suggested to us that in the higher grades it is impossible under Civil Service conditions to pay salaries sufficient to attract and retain the best men, especially on the technical side. We can find no evidence to suggest that in this respect the Post Office staff compares on the whole unfavourably in ability and efficiency with that of comparable outside commercial concerns, indeed we consider the reverse to be the case.

As regards the other heads of criticism summarized in para. 34, and relating to what may be briefly termed absence of initiative and imagination, resulting largely from over-centralized control, lack of the commercial attitude, and the inadequate status of the engineer, we propose to deal with these together as essentially part of the same problem.

While, in our opinion, these criticisms are not devoid of some substance, we have formed the impression that in general, the standard of efficiency shown by the Post Office in the performance of its duties is very satisfactory. We doubt whether the public fully appreciates how high this standard is.

After dealing with other questions a final note was struck which has a definite bearing upon the questions under consideration in this chapter. The Report said "No organization can fail to be adversely affected when, on the one hand, it is denied credit that is its due, and on the other, is subjected to continued and often unfair and uninformed

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criticism. In such circumstances the staff cannot fail to become disheartened and demoralized . . . ”

Much of that has now gone. It has yielded to the brilliant work of Sir Stephen Tallents whilst he was conducting the publicity campaign for the post office.

An American millionaire had such a bad press that he was almost an exile from his native state for many, many years. He engaged a publicity agent and now he is a national hero! Rumour goes that at one time Al Capone approached the millionaire's agent and said “I believe I have a poor press—there's a job going if you want it. And believe me it's an easier one than you've gotten now.”

It will pay local government authorities to adopt a public relations policy and keep in step with modern methods of publicizing their achievements and their contributions to the nation's welfare.

CHAPTER VII

The Qualities of a Public Servant

The actions of men proceed from their opinions and in the well-governing of opinions consisteth the well-governing of man's actions

HOBBS

A NATIONAL responsibility is entrusted to those who choose the public service as a career, a responsibility which has no parallel in other occupations. The real measurement of success is not to be found in statistics or graphs, but in the degree of happiness attained by the community. The local government officer, unlike his colleague in the civil service, is more than a symbol of public administration, he has to purvey it to the users of government. Consequently, his training, his expertness and his professional ability must be beyond question, and his personal attributes must command respect.

One quality which is essential in a public officer is to be able to administer, for the general convenience of the public, an Act of Parliament designed to meet a new social condition, without unduly hampering that part of the community which is least affected by the new conditions. Even within his own Council Chamber "tom-fool" resolutions may be passed against his advice. It is good training in public

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administration to make such a resolution work, and it is surprising how well it will work sometimes. Remember, too, there are a lot of "fools" amongst the consumers of local government, and it would not be local government if they did not have their points of view represent on the council

I have ventured to comment elsewhere that considering the haphazard way in which our local government system has developed we are fortunate in finding that we have escaped both a bureaucracy and a spoils system. Can we say with the same confidence that we have wholly escaped the equally objectionable methods and manners of the autocrat?

The autocrat is only a shade removed from the tyrant. Energy and drive are just as essential in public administration as in any other occupation, but in local government they should be applied differently. They should be subordinated to stimulating others in producing a satisfying harmony of effort. That is absolutely necessary since local government is both a necessity and a monopoly. Men of action are not necessarily obtrusive. Generally speaking anyone dissatisfied with the treatment or the value received from a business house has the choice of other firms. In public administration there is no such choice, consequently, its interpretation, its administration, demands special qualities of mind and personal behaviour. These qualities are necessary because local government serves a large number

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of people of all grades and classes, personal interests, and political opinions. Local government belongs to all the people. It is not intended to benefit solely any one section of the community, nor is the cost, or any undue proportion of the cost, borne by any one class. These are basic facts which should guide the attitude of the officer towards his public. The autocratic or austere official may by his manner create distaste for public administration. He may get things done, but he is a menace to the service because he offends the senses. He may hold an important position, but he is not an administrator in the true sense—and efficiency in administration, as in all movements directed by human effort, is far more dependent upon rhythm than our examination experts have yet realized. A chief officer may have a large staff under his control, in which case he has a dual responsibility—one to his public and one to his staff. The first part of that dual responsibility means that he must try to attain a public consciousness which will influence the public to co-operate towards the attainment of the ultimate end of local government—a more abundant life. In the second, he can set a standard of official conduct which will inspire his colleagues and subordinates. He is consciously or unconsciously always influencing the standards of the local government officers of the future who have no other guide to follow. If at the same time he can infuse vitality into the work and

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determination of his subordinates without jarring them mentally or physically, as a football player gathers up the ball in his stride, as the cricketer turns the speedy ball by a graceful movement of the body, he will be applying the laws of nature to administration.

If we could only find an infallible system of measuring the degree of rhythm in mental energy we could find the successful administrator. Crude or irksome methods imposed by authority can never achieve the satisfaction of self-fulfilment. There is economy in thinking as well as in action, and in both cases something akin to rhythm is the secret.

No one should accept promotion in local government without first measuring its handicap, its limitations and its opposition. It is not a business in the commercial sense, although it can use the best business efficiency systems. Local government is an everyday necessity used by every man, woman, and child, but very few of the daily users understand it, know where it comes from, or have the remotest idea how to measure its value. It has an adverse Press, and anyone who has just enough brains to make money thinks himself superior to a public officer. Local government is controversial—it becomes “politics” because it is not privately owned. Like everything else which is the result of “natural causes” it is simple truth, but in controversy that truth is buried under a mountain of misrepresentation. Truths are

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not of any use to the controversialist because of their simplicity. Political protagonists cannot live on simple truths, their field is the "ifs" and "buts" in which they roll as luxuriously as a pony in a meadow ¹

Not one of these handicaps, however, is really formidable—they are mostly vapourings and they dissolve when subjected to impartial examination. Someone once said that any man who has the courage to walk up to a ghost can usually walk through it!

But vulgar force will not overcome this opposition, for the simple reason that it springs from an age-long twisted angle of thinking by the great masses of the people. Therefore, the first approach to the problem of adjusting that opposition is to establish a measure of confidence amongst the general public in the efficiency of the administration, and a whole-hearted belief in the integrity of the staff, from the head of the department to the humblest junior clerk.

It is not enough to be able to get things done. That limit of efficiency may pass for "good business," but it is not good enough for public administration. Officers in high positions who rely solely upon the authority behind their office rather than upon the qualities of a philosophic interpretation of their duties are leaving the "heart" out of public administration.

¹ After this chapter had been written, I came across the following sentence in a book written by a Member of Parliament: "An impractical old saint, perhaps, but I sometimes think he was nearer the truth than any man I have met in my rural rides."

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Humility and a pleasing demeanour are natural gifts to persons of sensibility and discernment, and in local government they are qualities of first-class importance for the attainment of a complete fulfilment of the responsibility for the welfare of others. Montaigne says "We owe a like obedience to all kings for such respects their office, but estimation and affection we owe it only to their virtue."

The real purpose of local government administration can only be interpreted by an understanding of its objective, an objective which is only revealed by a profound study of the social problems of the nation, and the quality of that administration is the quality of the official personnel which registers the standard of public service prestige.

A business house which has adopted the slogan "service, not self" has naively confirmed the profound psychological attribute of public administration—a system which it professes to hate. And it is significant that such slogans and phrases influence public opinion. The business man and the politician have never doubted the capacity for response and fealty among normal people, then why should the local government officer do so! In fact, that capacity is unbelievably great, and the administrator in the public service must know how to develop the sources of human desire. Most people are pathetically ready to follow the lead of a person or movement which gives them hope and confidence. But

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the public officer should avoid the technique of the benevolent despot, the ardour of the politician, and the emotional and empty clichés of the emancipator. Local government should be just plain common sense.

Local government has grown to its present dimensions in a comparatively short time, it has been equal to the tasks imposed upon it, and it has given us an official personnel of great capacity and ability. If it has failed in anything, it is in establishing uniform standards of staff selection and traditions. The first point is dealt with at length in the next chapter. The second we must borrow from the civil service. Granted, there are substantial differences in the two parts of our system of government, the central and the local, there are certain traditions in the former service which almost amount to public administration philosophy, and in that sense they are part of the science of public administration in both fields. We must always remember that we have a big and watchful public, sometimes suspicious, and seldom sympathetic. Therefore, the first duty is to establish confidence, and no one can do more towards this than the official himself.

It is not unimportant that the official should be an approachable, likeable, and sympathetic person. It is necessary that he should be on top of his profession or calling, because he is bound to meet, as members of his council and his everyday public, persons holding precisely the same qualifications as

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his own, although they are being practised in an entirely different walk of life. Again, it is not unimportant that he should be able to hold his own on the golf links or in similar activities of the social and recreational kind. After all a "human" public officer is the first step towards getting confidence. Even his private life must be above criticism.

There is no written code of conduct for local government officers, neither is there for civil servants, but in a memorandum on the acceptance of business appointments by officers of the Crown Services (Cmd 5517), it is stated that His Majesty's Government recognizes that it is in the interest of the Services themselves, as well as of the country, "that public confidence in the disinterestedness and integrity of the Crown Services should be maintained at the highest point, and that there should be no possibility of a suggestion—however unjustified—in the public mind that members of those Services might be influenced in the course of their official relations with business concerns by hopes or offers of future employment in any of those concerns."

In the Report of a Board of Enquiry (Cmd. 3037) enunciating certain principles for the guidance of civil servants it is stated

His Majesty's Civil Service, unlike other great professions, is not and cannot in the nature of things be an autonomous profession. In common with the Royal Navy, the Army, and the Air Force, it must be subject to the rules and regulations

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laid down for its guidance by His Majesty's Government. This written code is, in the case of the Civil Service, to be found not only in the Statutes but also in Orders in Council, Treasury Circulars and other directions, which may from time to time be promulgated, but over and above these the Civil Service, like every other profession, has its unwritten code of ethics and conduct for which the most effective sanction lies in the public opinion of the Service itself, and it is upon the maintenance of a sound and healthy public opinion within the Service that its value and efficiency chiefly depend.

The first duty of a Civil Servant is to give his undivided allegiance to the State at all times and on all occasions when the State has a claim upon his services. With his private activities the State is in general not concerned, so long as his conduct therein is not such as to bring discredit upon the Service of which he is a member, but to say that he is not to subordinate his duty to his private interests, not to make use of his official position to further those interests, is to say no more than that he must behave with common honesty. The Service exacts from itself a higher standard, because it recognizes that the State is entitled to demand that its servant shall not only be honest in fact, but beyond the reach of suspicion of dishonesty. It was laid down by one of His Majesty's Judges in a case some few years ago that it was not merely of some importance, but of fundamental importance, that in a court of law justice should not only be done, but should manifestly and undoubtedly be seen to be done, which we take to mean that public confidence in the administration of justice would be shaken if the least suspicion, however ill-founded, were allowed to arise that the course of legal proceedings could in any way be influenced by improper motives. We apply without hesitation an analogous rule to other branches of the public service. A Civil Servant is not to subordinate his duty to his private interests, but neither is he to put himself in a position where his duty and his interests conflict. He is not to make use of his official position to further those interests, but neither is he so to order his private affairs as to allow the suspicion to arise that a trust has been abused or a confidence betrayed. These

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obligations are, we do not doubt, universally recognized throughout the whole of the Service, if it were otherwise, its public credit would be diminished and its usefulness to the State impaired

We content ourselves with laying down these general principles, which we do not seek to elaborate into any detailed code, if only for the reason that their application must necessarily vary according to the position, the Department and the work of the Civil Servant concerned. Practical rules for the guidance of social conduct depend also as much upon the instinct and perception of the individual as upon cast-iron formulas, and the surest guide will, we hope, always be found in the nice and jealous honour of Civil Servants themselves. The public expects from them a standard of integrity and conduct not only inflexible but fastidious, and has not been disappointed in the past. We are confident that we are expressing the view of the Service when we say that the public have a right to expect the standard, and that it is the duty of the Service to see that the expectation is fulfilled.

Nothing less than that standard is expected of local government officers.

In this chapter I have attempted to indicate the *plus* attributes to the everyday or professional qualifications which I consider are necessary to produce adequacy in the make-up of a public servant. It is doubtful whether these extra qualities can be taught in any school. They are perhaps a gift from nature's laboratory—and it is a great comfort to know that nature distributes such qualities amongst all classes of the community. There is no doubt, on the other hand, that they can be developed, especially in the right atmosphere, and therefore selection seems as important as training.

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Government in one form or another has existed ever since men herded for their own protection or for greater economy in acquiring sustenance, and any system of government must exercise authority in some degree. However broad is the base, even of democratic election, the structure must taper towards an oligarchy. A variety of forms of government have been forced upon, or chosen by, the peoples of all nations.

It is not any help to this chapter to examine those systems or their doings, but it is useful to reflect for a moment upon the cause of their failure. Almost without exception the transference of authority from one class or system to another has been due either to the abuse of authority, or to the inability to act up to the heavy responsibilities of government. The more unrestricted is authority the quicker it runs to abuse.

It is possible, then, that the future will demand a system of government by an aristocracy of public officers. I believe we shall always need an aristocracy of government, but the personnel need not be drawn from any particular class of the community. There is a quality of mind which, in my opinion, is the only qualification for government. That outstanding quality is influenced as much by the senses as by reason. Lord Haldane referred to it "as the system of habitual or customary conduct, ethical rather than legal, which embraces all the obligations of

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a citizen which it is 'bad form' or 'not the thing' to disregard "

The highly tempered human being is to be found in all grades of society. The biologists can tell you quite a lot about him to-day, but yesterday he was described as "one of nature's gentlemen." As the artist arranges his materials into high artistry, so the administrator, who is working with a more complex and delicate medium, brings human desires and need into a harmony as satisfying as a full orchestral symphony. Just as keenness for truth makes the philosopher, love of justice guides the arbiter, enthusiasm for righteousness the moralist, so is a passion for the commonweal the measure of a true public servant.

CHAPTER VIII

The Future and the "Hadow" Report

A field requirereth three things fair weather, good seed,
and a good husbandman ENGLISH PROVERB

As to the future, it is not easy to make any accurate forecast. So long as the plan of local government administration remains as it is, there can be very little alteration in the system of recruitment and training; but in this country as in others changes are always taking place, taking place so gradually, but no less inevitably, that they become accepted without any marked consciousness. We have already accepted, as though it were as normal as the rising of the sun, a very important change in our system of public administration, a change as revolutionary as the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act just over one hundred years ago—that is the establishment of a new form of public administration technique. The best examples are the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Electricity Commissioners, and the London Passenger Transport Board.

In addition to that we must accept the trend of expansion in public control. The country has accepted, during recent years, the experiment of the control of certain foodstuffs, and a much wider

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development of this new phase of control has been foreshadowed by Earl De La Warr, who was until recently Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. Is it not reasonable to suppose that, once these schemes have been hammered out by the central departments, the administration of them will eventually devolve upon local authorities, or upon regional boards?

The government has just initiated a nation-wide scheme of Physical Training and Recreation. This may look like an experiment to the uninitiated, but it is something much more fundamental. This is the beginning of the new era when the use of that "leisure" with which machinery and science have endowed the world, must be a governmental responsibility. There will be no turning back, now that the scheme has been launched, voluntary though it be. The community centre, left entirely at present to the volunteer worker, will sooner or later become a local government responsibility. We should be wise to recognize these trends, which may increase and widen the responsibilities of local government authorities or transfer them to regional boards.

If, then, we are faced with a greater expansion of control and governmental authority, we must recognize the challenge to our system of training and selection. There has recently been issued the report of a Departmental Committee appointed in 1930 to "inquire into and make recommendations on the

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qualifications, recruitment, training and promotion of local government officers." This committee was presided over by the late Sir Henry Hadow, C B E., J P, and, as is usual in this country, the report goes by the name of the "Hadow" Report. It was issued in 1934, since when it has been left "to mature," very much in the same way as we leave all good things to "age," such as wine, game, and cheese.

This report must be accepted as the "blue print" or plan for the guidance of local authorities in the future; it is not a sequel to proved incompetence or inefficiency, because it quite frankly admits that "The Local Government Service maintains to-day a high standard. We have little serious criticism of officers, and we have been favourably impressed by the evidence given on their behalf. The associations of officers have done a great deal to raise the standards of the service. They have consistently, and, on the whole, successfully, laboured to secure the improved qualification of their members."¹

On the contrary, it is a genuine attempt to anticipate the needs of the future. It is an admission that the rough-and-ready methods of building up a local government service by piece-meal legislation have created such a complex and unattractive system that

¹ Report of the Departmental Committee on the Qualifications, Recruitment, Training and Promotion of Local Government Officers Para 2

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unless something is done to ensure that local authorities can secure a fair share of the best products of our education system it will not be possible to meet the liabilities which the increasing *tempo* of civilization (for want of a better word) is placing upon local government.

The first warning was issued in the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government

"It is at least open to question whether the present methods of recruitment are calculated to ensure that Local Authorities shall have at their disposal officers of the type needed to assist them in the discharge of the increasing responsibilities which Parliament is year by year laying upon them. The main issue is whether the present system of recruiting Local Government Officers is satisfactory, in which connection the following controversial questions have been raised whether inefficient or unsuitable persons secure appointment, whether appointments are made as the result of political, personal or sectional influences, and whether it is necessary to impose a less personal method of selection, by providing that appointments should in future be exclusively as the result of qualifying or competitive examinations"¹

It is obvious that the objective which the committee visualized was to make the recruitment of

¹ *Final Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government, 1929*
Paras 408 and 412, pp 127 and 128

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the local government service fit into the educational system of the country

The "Hadow" Report lays some stress on this point when it says:

"Little effort is made to adjust the system of recruitment to the educational system of the country in such a way as to draw on all classes of the community, and to secure for Local Government a due proportion of the ablest men and women available. A closer relation between the system of recruitment and the educational system, is, in our opinion, needed."

It is claimed that the recruitment into the Civil Service is stratified to correspond with the education system, the theory being that there are four separate establishments, four separate "gates" through which enter the output of the elementary, secondary and public schools and the universities

Here then are the principal recommendations of the "Hadow" Committee, with a few observations which will draw attention to some of the existing difficulties as well as the general reactions to the report of a large body of local government officers

(1) Notification of Vacancies

All vacancies should be widely notified, except where it is intended to fill them by promotion inside the office

(2) Selection of Candidates

Candidates should ordinarily be interviewed by a Committee of the Council, selection by an officer should be exceptional

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(3) Disqualification of interested persons

The candidature of near relations of members or officers should be closely scrutinized, members, officers and candidates being required to disclose relationship

(4) Canvassing

Canvassing should invariably disqualify a candidate

(5) Probation

All newcomers to the service should be appointed on a term of probation, should be thoroughly tested, and should be appointed to the established staff only if reports are satisfactory

The Central Advisory Committee, which is the king-pin of the whole report, could do much to bring about the practices suggested under the foregoing heads by drafting and issuing a model form of application which every local authority should use. The form used by the Birmingham Corporation is a good example.

(6) Security of Tenure

Before a senior officer is dismissed, notice should be given to all members of the Authority, and, if the officer so requests, the notice should state the grounds of the complaint.

It is evident that the committee does not favour an extension of a form of security of tenure of office similar to that enjoyed by medical officers and a few others already referred to. One would have welcomed a little more courage on the part of the committee on this issue. It is not always easy to

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appreciate what are the influences at work which affect or divert an officer's better judgment. It is not sufficient answer to the demand for more widespread security of tenure, that the number who have suffered in the past is comparatively small, the real question is, how many officers would have done differently if they had been sure of some protection? The recommendation is only a slight improvement on the present position.

(7) Employment by Authority

Local Authorities should not authorise their officers to appoint and pay their own assistants, but should be directly responsible for the appointment and salary of every member of their staff

It is necessary to remove the last shreds of an obnoxious system which has given much scope for all kinds of bad practices, such as avoiding the responsibility for superannuation.

(8) Minimum Qualification

Sixteen years should be the minimum age of entry, and a school certificate the minimum educational qualification, vacancies should be open to girls as well as to boys

(9) Recruitment from a higher age group

Local Authorities should recruit a certain proportion of junior clerical officers at eighteen or nineteen years of age, the larger local authorities making systematic arrangements to do so

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(10) *Method of Recruiting Clerical Officers*

Junior clerical officers should preferably be recruited by open competitive examination, neighbouring local authorities combining for the purpose

(11) *University Graduates*

University graduates should be systematically recruited by the larger local authorities, and there should be central machinery for the selection of this type of candidate, competitive examination is recommended

These recommendations are very important. It is essential to start right, and the recruitment of juniors should be taken quite as seriously as the appointment of higher grade officers.

Practically every junior entrant into local government is offered nothing more than the prospect of "working his way up." There is not anything like the same degree of "stratification" in local government as there is in the Civil Service. The London County Council towers above all other local authorities, and must be treated as an exception. Of the remaining local authorities, the largest do not easily lend themselves to a Civil Service system of recruitment, for the simple reason that the total number of officials employed is broken down into varying group sizes by departmentalism and a further subdivision into professional, technical and clerical groups which, in actual practice, shade into each other. A glance at the variety of the designations of posts by a county borough set out in Appendix 3

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will explain this difficulty. At the same time local government cannot afford to close its doors to the best products of all our educational institutions

The matriculation standard for all entrants may be too high in some districts, but its general application would be the best in the long run. Many entrants into local government do not realize until they have been on the staff for a while what an important part professional examinations play in their careers. The matriculation examination is invariably the first requirement in preparing for a professional or technical qualification and for a Degree or Diploma Course at the university.

It is not easy to get the matriculation examination certificate two or three years after leaving school, and it has been proved over and over again that the absence of this examination has blighted the careers of many promising local government officers, because they have been unable to turn back and study for matriculation.

Everyone admits the force of the contention "the better the material the more the local government service will benefit," and we must accept these recommendations, and do so wholeheartedly.

On the other hand, the suggested admission of a greater proportion of university graduates than heretofore is not without its difficulties. There are a large number of officers serving to-day and following the course of study which has been accepted

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as the standard for promotion, and it is natural that many who have not been to a university should show some alarm. The danger they see in the recommendation of the Departmental Committee is the establishment of a *special class* in local government, which would be a barrier to the non-university graduates to reach the highest positions in the service, and their nervousness is understandable. Fortunately the "Hadow" Report is conclusive upon this point: "that no preferential treatment of graduates or a proportion of the higher positions should be reserved for them."

The test of this lies in the degree of willingness on the part of the universities to provide facilities for those who are already in the service who are both willing and able to obtain a Degree or Diploma, whilst still carrying out their jobs. Many have already done this in their "spare time," and by no mean personal sacrifice.

There is still some doubt whether the object of this part of the Report is not designed primarily to find jobs for the large number of young men who have passed through the universities and who are now looking for work. It is yet to be proved that a man who takes his university courses after he has entered the service is in any way inferior to the man who takes a degree before he sets out to find work. I am inclined to think that the advantage will lie with the student who first acquires a

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practical groundwork upon which he can graft his theories.

There is everything in favour of the closest co-operation between the universities and the local authorities, to make it possible for an officer who has entered the service at a youthful age to acquire, a little later in life, some of that cultural and academic training which is so exclusively the product of university study

(12) *Field of Recruitment*

In recruiting their professional and technical officers, local authorities should look to all available sources whether inside or outside the Service

This reads like common sense. It was probably written with greater ease than any other section of the report, but if we should "pause to think" anywhere, it is here. If we are to keep local government as a career service we must throw open all the doors to promotion. You cannot have a career service with blind alleys. Any department which closes the door to the chief officership will get, and deserve, very poor staff material.

The creation of new types of public utility boards, such as the B B C, the transference of a big undertaking like the payment of unemployment assistance from the Public Assistance Committees (local) to the Unemployment Assistance Board (national) not only widens the field in which to gain experience, but coalesces the local and central governmental

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services Movement between all sections should be made as fluid as possible by mobile pension rights. As regards recruitment from outside the service, it may be useful if it is done before the mind buckramizes on methods which cannot be adjusted to public administration. There are few businesses bigger than local government, and the big men in big business who are really first-class administrators will not look at what local government can offer in remuneration. There are some brilliant men in commerce and industry, but on the other hand, there is a huge army of "businessmen" who masquerade as such but who would find it a very different world. When thinking of this recommendation we must not forget the restriction in local government. If the remuneration offered by local government were big enough to attract the big man of business, he would find when he got there that at every pressure point of his business training he would chafe with restrictions.

Let those who are prone to compare business and government remember that if the same amount of freedom were given to local government officers as is possessed by their opposite numbers in private enterprise, the former would easily hold their own in getting things done. But that would not be public administration. We cannot have it both ways. Obviously, local government must look to outside sources when a new duty is imposed upon it, which

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previously has been carried out solely by private enterprise. But those who enter the more restricted field of public administration have to adjust themselves very considerably, and it is common practice afterwards for them to train their own officers for the future requirements of the service in this field of administration. Housing gives us an example.

(13) *Articled Pupilage*

No premium should be required from pupils articled to officers, and the selection of pupils by officers should be subject to the authority's approval.

There are "outside" issues affecting the foregoing proposals such as the statutory rights of the lawyer and the rules governing admission to other professions. It seems reasonable to assume that where the fees are the perquisite of the officer the choice will be restricted to the offspring of parents who can afford to pay them and a certain measure of expectation of a job would not be unnatural on the part of the parent and the pupil when the "articles" had been served. That is not good enough for local government.

(14) *Clerks*

The essential qualification of a clerk is administrative ability, a legal qualification may be convenient, but should not be insisted on to the exclusion of persons of proved administrative ability who do not possess the qualification. To secure that sufficient officers of administrative ability are available, local authorities should broaden the basis of recruitment, provide training in

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administration for junior officers, and encourage the study of the principles of administration

(15) *Other Principal Officers*

No radical change in the existing system of requiring principal officers to possess technical qualifications is suggested, but more attention should be paid to administrative ability and experience

Whilst it is generally true that a professional or technical qualification is the first essential to a chief officership, and that progress in local government appointments means moving from authority to authority, we may have overlooked a practice which to some extent answers the "Hadow" Committee on this score. It is true to say that as an officer ascends the scale of appointments his experience and qualities as an administrator gradually supersede his professional qualifications, this is particularly so in the Clerk's and Public Health Departments. At the same time, there must be a more generous recognition of administrative ability for its own virtue. The administrator is the most important person in all large scale occupations.

(16) *Subordinate Administrative Officers*

Large authorities might consider the appointment of responsible administrative assistants to the principal officers

(17) Every local authority should adopt a scheme of grading and salary scales (par 108). The grades of different authorities should as far as possible be comparable

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- (18) Selected clerical officers should be given experience of different departments. Freer movement of clerical officers between different authorities is also desirable, and senior clerical vacancies should ordinarily be advertised. Universal superannuation schemes are required.

The foregoing are amongst the most practical suggestions in the Report. They touch the basic conditions of service as well as open the door to provide a circulation of departmental experience. Most of the suggestions contained in the other chapters of this book key into these paragraphs.

(19) *An Examination Bar*

Local authorities should require junior officers to pass a qualifying examination before they will be considered eligible for promotion from the general grade.

If it is to be assumed that the "examination bar" is to be a "salary bar" as well, then care must be taken that the bar is not fixed at a point which denies a decent standard of living. It will be difficult to consider this recommendation apart from recommendations 17 (salary scales) and 20 (Nature of the Examination). It is of paramount importance to watch most carefully where the "bar" is put in any grading scheme, and the nature of the "qualifying examination." Under no circumstances must the "bar" apply to officers already in the service who are older than the "age bar" and receiving more than the "salary bar." We may have to consider the handicap to those who are within a year or so of the "age bar."

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(20) *Nature of the Examinations*

The examinations qualifying officers for promotion from the general grade should be either the first part of a recognized technical examination or an administrative examination. Local authorities should combine to secure that an administrative examination of suitable standard is available.

The nature of the examination is of extreme importance. Would it not be a practical contribution towards that further qualification which is essential to progress, if the first parts of all recognized professional, technical and service examinations were accepted? There should be no difficulty in scheduling these for the guidance of all local authorities. As regards the suggestion that "local authorities should combine to secure that an administrative examination of suitable standard is available," it would be wise to take the universities into "partnership" in this. There are now a number of universities offering Diploma courses in Public Administration, and they are sufficiently new to allow a recasting of the curriculum to make it comparatively easy for these examinations to fill the bill. The creation of still another examination will only complicate matters, and to set up a special examination to act as a "spring board" for clearing a hurdle, will be very little use in the long course of training which the successful local government officer needs. It will be got by "cramming" and probably forgotten as soon as it has achieved its purpose.

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(21) Method of Promotion

Principal officers should keep records of the progress of all officers in their Department, and these records should be referred to the appropriate Committee if the officer is either unusually promising or not up to standard

There are many ways of carrying out this recommendation. There is not a scheme to my knowledge which does not allow the human factor to enter into the records at one point or another. On the other hand, where large numbers of staff are employed there is no alternative as an efficiency measurement. "In a small business or in a small self-contained government or municipal department the problem of grading employees in order of merit and selecting the best for promotion presents no great difficulty, as the chief concerned probably knows his staff well enough to be able, from personal knowledge, reinforced where necessary by discussion with the immediate supervisor concerned, to assess the relative merits of his employees. A much more difficult problem confronts the head of a large organization, or one in which the staff is scattered over a wide area. Neither he himself nor any of his immediate assistants can have personal knowledge of all the members of the staff, and consequently there is a need for some reporting system which will give the administrator, in a uniform and summarized form, sufficient information about the character, performance of duties, ability, outlook and tempera-

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ment of the individual employees to enable their present and potential value to be as fairly assessed as possible"¹

(22) *Grants, Increments, Special Leave*

Grants or increments might be made to officers obtaining approved qualifications. Grants might also be made to educational institutions providing approved courses, on condition that selected officers are allowed to attend. Special leave should be granted in exceptional cases.

(23) *Technical Qualifications*

Technical qualifications, several questions arise and a thorough investigation is required. The investigation should be carried out by a central body, representative of local authorities.

(24) All questions affecting the recruitment, qualifications, training and promotion of officers, should be assigned to a central committee in every local authority.

(25) The principal need of the Service is a standing body with the supervision of all questions affecting officers. The Associations of Local Authorities and the London County Council should combine to appoint a Standing Committee for this purpose.

It is admitted that what the local government service needs is a standing body with the supervision of *all questions* affecting officers, and if those words mean anything at all they mean salaries, superannuation, sick leave, promotion, scope for initiative, intraining and everything that can only be done efficiently by the closest co-operation between Councils.

¹ *Staff Reports in the Public Service*. Being the interim report of a Research Group of the Institute of Public Administration, 1936.

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and their staffs. If the report shows a lack of courage or even of modern ideas, it is more pronounced in paragraph 25 than elsewhere.

The report misses the mark badly in its suggested composition of the committee. Obviously, this is a job for the National Joint Council referred to in the paragraph on Joint Councils. Granted that local government is carried out by a congeries of local authorities with more or less complete control over their own officials, at the same time we must admit that local government has a considerable national importance. That being the case we should aim at establishing at least a framework of service conditions which could be adapted to every local authority without in any way weakening that local autonomy to which so much importance is attached.

Whether the proposed Central Advisory Committee can function within a more circumscribed field without impinging on Whitleyism remains to be seen. Whatever is the outcome of the "Hadow" Report in this connection, I suggest that a tremendous step forward will be made if every local authority can be induced to adopt a set of staff regulations, following as near as possible a model form. I have ventured to suggest a draft set of staff regulations in Appendix 5 upon which the appropriate committee may cut its teeth.

CHAPTER IX

On Being Superannuated

Be^{com}ing old—the only way that has been found of living
a long life

ANATOLE FRANCE

WHEN Charles Lamb was summoned to attend a meeting of the principals of his firm “in the formidable back parlour” of the Counting House in Mincing Lane, he feared that his dismissal was imminent. He was told that his services of thirty-six years had been meritorious, he was surprised to hear it, but when he was informed that they wanted him to accept a pension of two-thirds of his salary, he says “I do not know what I answered between surprise and gratitude, but it was understood that I accepted their proposal, and I was told that I was free from that hour to leave their service I stammered out a bow, and at just ten minutes after eight I went home—for ever”

For the first day or two Lamb confesses that he was overwhelmed. He was too confused to taste his freedom sincerely. He wandered about thinking he was happy, but knowing that he was not. He had to adjust himself “from a poor man, poor in *time*. I was suddenly lifted up into a vast revenue, I could see no end of my possessions, I wanted some steward,

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or judicious bailiff, to manage my estates in *time* for me." And here comes the warning. For years Charles Lamb had yearned for time, for freedom to contemplate, to write, to read and to tranquillize. This sudden legacy of time was as devastating to Lamb as a legacy of untold wealth to a poor man. He never dreamed that it would come his way because there was no superannuation scheme at the Counting House. If there had been, Lamb would have prepared for the time of his retirement and stepped into his freedom without feeling like "a prisoner in the old Bastille, suddenly let loose after forty years' confinement." His savings bank was his mind, his literature, his philosophy, and he wanted *time* to spend it.

From now onwards every local government officer is assured of a retiring allowance at sixty years of age, if he has forty years' service behind him, or at sixty-five years of age if he has not. How many minor tragedies has superannuation brought to those who were "unprepared" for it? Unlike Charles Lamb, so many have dreaded retirement, have put off "facing up to it" until the last moment, and then has come disaster.

A man can be unprepared for superannuation just as disastrously as he can be unprepared for promotion. In each case the home suffers. To be adequately prepared one's financial commitments must be so arranged as to taper off in such a way

On Being Superannuated

that when one retires on a reduced income no strain is felt, the repayment of mortgages and the payment of insurance premiums can be timed, if properly planned

These are simple illustrations of the material things which are part of one's life when in office, and their proper adjustment to superannuation may make all the difference between contentedness and a struggle. If one has been "a very busy person" one will find that a smaller income will go quite a long way when one has time to spend it. It is surprising how much extravagance is represented by ordering things rather than choosing them, by paying for work to be done which one could do personally if one had sufficient leisure.

Many persons just yearn to "retire" to the country or to the seaside. That is all right for those who are temperamentally and physically suited for such a change. "Yet, sir," said Boswell, "there are many people who are content to live in the country." "Sir," replied Johnson, "they who are content to live in the country, are *fit* for the country." A man who has been a slave to keeping appointments and spending most of his time in town may thirst for the quiet of the country, but the country means isolation, to say nothing of wasps, mice and beetles. It means uprooting oneself from one's friends, the church, and associations, at a time in life when it is not easy to make new contacts. These consequences

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must be carefully considered before such a step is taken. One may think that fresh air and exercise are all that one needs to live long enough to make an impression on the superannuation fund, but it is far more important to keep the mind active and even stretched. There is great joy and much mental exercise to be obtained in the country, but one must be attuned to it, ready for it physically, and mentally prepared with a background of country knowledge. The country may mean being cut off from satisfying conversation. "I have known ladies at sixty," wrote Jonathan Swift to a young lady, "to whom all the polite part of the Court and Town paid their addresses, without any further view than that of enjoying the pleasure of their conversation."

Few people by the time they reach retirement age will have read all the books they have wanted to read. The accumulation of a library will be appreciated after retirement. Some people will want to write, and nothing could be more invaluable, when one gets time to write, than notes that have been made in anticipation of retirement.

A contribution to literature and to history can be made by keeping a diary, if you know how to keep a diary. A diary that will be invaluable in time to come must be based on acute observations which can be practised.

The most fruitful field, however, and the most satisfying activity to the retired local government

*On Being Superannuated**

officer is in voluntary social service. Those who have risen to the highest positions, those who have accumulated and gained knowledge in wide experience, can still serve their country by sitting on commissions and committees. In the more humble sphere, there is the community centre, the unemployment centres, the new institutes of leisure, the voluntary movements such as hospitals, asylums and orphanages, the administration of which is dependent to a great extent upon voluntary help.

Every local government officer who desires to obtain the greatest benefit from the superannuation scheme must prepare and plan for the day when he takes his pension. It should not be the end of an active life, but the beginning of a new one, and one which gives the fullest scope for exercising those qualities which have been the background of success in public administration.

Appendices

APPENDIX I

Specimen Salary Scales in Operation, July 1937

A COUNTY COUNCIL (INDUSTRIAL)

Probationary £35, £53, £70, £88

Grade Clerks—

* Class B £106, £123, £141, £156, thence by
£14 p a to £226

† Class A £240 by £14, £296 and final incre-
ment of £13 to £309

‡ Seniors £322, £336, thence by £13 to £375

§ 3rd Principal £442

|| 2nd Principal £526

¶ 1st Principal £587.

*⁶ FEMALE STAFF £30 by £14 p a to £142

* Special Service increments £14, plus £14 at 2-year intervals

† Special Service increments £13, plus £14 at 2-year intervals

‡ Special Service increments £14, plus £13 at 2-year intervals

§ Special Service increments £24 at 4-year intervals

|| Special Service increments £25 at 4-year intervals

¶ Special Service increments £24 at 4-year intervals

*⁸ Special Service increments £14 at 4-year intervals

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A COUNTY COUNCIL (AGRICULTURAL)

Grade 5	£75 by £10 p a to £105
Grade 4	£110 by £10 p a to £165
Grade 3	£170 by £12 10s od p a to £220
Grade 2	£230 by £14 p a to £300
Grade 1	£310 by £15 p a to £415

FEMALE STAFF

Class C	£75 by £10 p a to £105
Class B	£110 by £10 p a to £150
Class A	£155 by £10 p a to £195

A COUNTY BOROUGH (INDUSTRIAL)

Juniors	£40 by £10 p a. to £80
2nd Class	£100 by £20 p a to £200
Intermediate	£210 by £10 p a to £250
1st Class	£260 by £10 p a. to £300
Seniors	£310 by £15 p a to £375
Heads of Sub-Depts	£400 by recommendation of Committee to £600

FEMALE CLERICAL STAFF

Grade C	£40 by £10 p a to £120 (at age 24)
Grade B	£130 by £10 p a to £160
Grade A	£170 by £10 p a to £200

A COUNTY BOROUGH (NON-INDUSTRIAL)

*Juniors	£26 (age 16) by £13 p a to £78.
Grade 5	£104 by £13 p a to £156
Grade 4	£156 by £13 p.a. to £208
Grade 3	£208 by £13 p a. to £260
Grade 2	£260 by £13 p a to £312
Grade 1	£312 by £10 p a to £364

* Juniors are placed in Grade 5 on attaining the age of 21 on satisfactory report

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A METROPOLITAN BOROUGH

Juniors (ages 16-24) £55 by £17 10s 6d p a to £195.

Grade 3 £200 by £15 p a to £290

Grade 2 £300 by £15 p a to £390

Grade 1 £400 by £20 p a to £480

FEMALE STAFF

Juniors £50 by £15 p a to £175

Grade 3 £180 by £10 p a to £250

Grade 2 £260 by £10 p a to £340

Grade 1 £350 by £15 p a to £440

Note—Minima and maxima salaries in Grades 1, 2, and 3 are reduced where officer has not obtained the appropriate certificate of one of the recognized professional institutes as follows —

Grade 3 by £15

Grades 1 and 2 by £25

AN URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL (RESIDENTIAL)

Grade A £50 by £10 p a to £130

Grade B £100 by £15 p a to £250

Grade C (1) £250 by £15 p a to £300

Grade C (2) £250 by £15 p a to £350

Grade C (3) £250 by £15 p a to £400

Grade D Salaries determined by Council

SHORTHAND TYPISTS

Rising to a maximum of £150

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AN URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL (INDUSTRIAL)

Juniors (16 to 20)	£40, £50, £60, £70, £85
Grade B (21 to 27)	£110 by £10 p a to £130, thence by £15 p a to £190
Grade C	£200 by £10 p a to £230
Grade D (Sec 1)	£200, £215, £230, £240
Grade D (Sec 2)	£255 by £15 p a to £300

EMALE STAFF

Juniors (16 to 20)	£40 by £10 p a to £80
Grade B (21 to 24)	£100 by £10 p a to £130
Grade C	£120 by £10 p a to £150

APPENDIX II

Analysis of Replies from 819 Local Authorities on Salaries, Grading Schemes, and Service Conditions, July 1937

NUMBER OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

	<i>England and Wales</i>	<i>Scotland</i>	<i>Total</i>
County Councils	62	31	93
County Boroughs	83	—	83
Town Councils	—	194	194
Metropolitan Boroughs and City Corporation	29	—	29
Boroughs	301	—	301
Urban District Councils	602	—	602
Rural District Councils	480	—	480
	1,557	225	1,782

Note—More than half the above have populations under 10,000 and obviously employ too few officers to be taken into account for the purpose of this inquiry. The following replies cover practically all the authorities where schemes could apply.

Appendices

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	<i>England and Wales</i>	<i>Scotland</i>	<i>Total</i>
Number of Authorities which replied to the questionnaire	781	38	819
SALARIES AND GRADING SCHEMES—			
Number where operating	441	28	469
Number where any officers have been excluded	93	7	100
Number for whole Staff	391	23	414
Number for part of Staff only	50	5	55
INCREMENTS—			
Number where automatic increments are granted within all grades	264	21	285
Number where increments in adult grades are subject to recommendation of Chief Officers or Employing Committees	135	5	140
Number where no information	8	1	9
ESTABLISHMENT OR STAFFING COMMITTEES—			
Number where in operation	248	16	264

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SERVICE CONDITIONS—INTERCHANGE OF OFFICERS AND VACANCIES—				
Number where scheme of interchange is operating	53	4	57	
Number where vacancies are notified to Departments, and applications invited therefrom	142	11	153	
OVERTIME—				
Number where considered excessive	47	—	47	
Number where paid for	139	7	146	
Number where meal allowances are granted	261	5	266	
JOINT COMMITTEES—				
Number where in operation	85	—	85	
Number where no Committee but where facilities for staff representation	176	11	187	
Number where no facilities for staff representation	520	27	547	
ENTRANCE QUALIFICATION—				
Number where required	323	21	344	
TEMPORARY STAFFS—				
Number where employed for other than seasonal or stress periods	196	6	202	
EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK—				
Number where the principle is recognized	93	3	96	

APPENDIX III

'Designated Posts applicable to the City of Salford, December 1937

Positions where professional, technical, or special vocational qualifications are necessary, are indicated by an asterisk. It should be remembered, however, that there are many persons in other designated posts not marked with an asterisk, who will, nevertheless, be preparing for a professional, technical, or vocational examination, e.g. many of the Rate Collectors will be preparing for the examination of the Incorporated Association of Rating and Valuation Officers, and some of them will probably already hold the certificate. Officers marked ‡ hold professional or technical qualifications, although such may not have been stipulated as necessary.

TOWN CLERK'S DEPARTMENT		CITY TREASURER'S DEPARTMENT	
Town Clerk	1*		
Deputy Town Clerk	1*	City Treasurer	1*
Assistant Solicitor	1*	Deputy City Treasurer	1*
Conveyancing Clerk	1		
Common Law Clerk	1		
Legal Clerks	8	Accountancy Section—	
Chief Administrative Assistant	1	Chief Accountant Clerk	1*
Committee Clerks	6	Chief Clerk	1*
General Clerks	8	Accountant Assistants	4*
Shorthand Typists	8	Wages, etc., Cashier	1
Minute Typists	3	Accountant Clerks	8*
Elections, etc., Office	1	Assistant Accountant Clerks	9
Mayor's Secretary	1	Clerks	13
Mayor's Attendant	1	Shorthand-Typists (Female)	4
Local Taxation and Licensing Clerks	6	Comptometress (Female)	1
Telephonists	2		
Commissionaire	1		

Appendices

CITY TREASURER'S DEPARTMENT—continued		Prepayment Meter Collectors—	
<i>Internal Audit Section—</i>		Chief Prepayment	
Chief Audit Clerk	1*	Meter Collector	1
Assistant Audit Clerk	1*	Prepayment Meter Collectors	23
Audit Clerks	6†	<i>Housing Section—</i>	
<i>Rentals Section—</i>		Rent Collectors	4
Chief Rental Clerk	1	Superintendent—Langworthy Estates	1
Senior Rental Clerk	1	<i>Public Assistance Section—</i>	
Rental Clerks (including two females)	24	Accountant Clerk	1*
Machine Operators (female)	3	Cashier	1
<i>Rate Section—</i>		Collector	1
Chief Rate Clerk and Assessment Clerk	1*	Accountancy Assistant	1
Rate Clerks	10	Assistant Collector	1
<i>Stationery Section—</i>		Collector Assistant (Indoor)	1
Stationery Superintendent	1	Clerks (including one female)	10
Stationery Assistant	1	CITY ENGINEER'S DEPARTMENT	
Stationery Clerks	3	<i>Technical Staff—</i>	
Printer	1	City Engineer	1*
<i>Cashier's Section—</i>		Deputy City Engineer	1*
Cashiers	2	Chief Assistant Engineer (1st Assistant)	1*
Assistant Cashiers	9	Second Assistant Engineer	1*
Clerks	2	Chief Architectural Assistant and Building Surveyor	1*
<i>Collectors' Section—</i>		Assistant Highway Surveyor	1*
Chief Rate, etc., Collector	1	Assistant Building Surveyor	1*
Assistant Chief Collector	1		
Rates, etc., Collectors	13		
Arrears Clerk	1		
Machiner Operator (Female)	1		

† Two of these clerks are required to be qualified

The Local Government Officer

CITY ENGINEER'S DEPARTMENT— <i>continued</i>		Correspondence and	
		General Clerks	5
<i>Technical Staff—continued</i>		Enquiry Clerks	2
Assistant Engineers	4*	Town Halls Accounts Clerks	2
Architectural Assistants	5*	Hallkeepers	2
Quantity Surveyor	1†	Depot Superintendent	1
General Engineering Assistants	4*	Depot Clerk	1
Junior Draughtsman	2	Highways Clerk	1
Tracing Clerk	1	Sewage Works Clerks	2
Plan-Keeper	1		
Assistant Quantity Surveyor	1*	HEALTH DEPARTMENT	
Junior Architectural Assistant	1	Medical Officer of Health	1*
Highway Surveyor	1*	Chief Administrative Assistant	1
Assistant Highway Inspectors	3	Statistical Clerk	1
Building Inspectors	3*	Chief Clerk, Sanitary Inspector's Department	1
Clerk of Works	1	Shorthand Typist	1
Sewage Works Manager	1*	Clerks	23
Master, Sludge Steamer	1‡	Chief Sanitary Inspector	1*
Chief Engineer, Sludge Steamer	1‡	Deputy Chief Sanitary Inspector	1*
Consulting Chemist (Part-time)	1‡	Food and Drugs Inspector	1*
		Meat Inspectors	2*
		Drainage Inspector	1*
		Smoke Inspector	1*
		Shops Act Inspector	1*
<i>Clerical Staff—</i>		Re-Housing Inspector	1*
Chief Clerk	1	Housing Inspectors	2*
City Engineer's Clerk	1	Lady Inspector	1*
Accounts Clerk	1	Inspector of Lodging Houses	1*
Highway Accounts Clerks	3	District Inspectors	5*
Assistant Highway Accounts Clerks	3	Public Analyst	1*
Statistical Clerks	2	Chief Technical Assistant Analyst	1

Appendices

HEALTH DEPARTMENT — continued		Nab Top Sanatorium—	
Laboratory Assistant	1	Medical Superintendent	1*
Pathologist	1*	Matron	1* •
Assistant Pathologist	1*	Home Sister	1*
Laboratory Stewards	2	Sisters	3*
Laboratory Assistants	2	Staff Nurses	—*
Tuberculosis Medical Officers	2*	Assistant Nurses	—*
		Teacher	1*
Maternity and Child Welfare Medical Officer	1*	<i>Venereal Diseases Treatment Centre—</i>	
Assistant Maternity and Child Welfare Medical Officer	1*	V D. Medical Officer	1*
Supervisor of Tuberculosis Visitors	1*	Assistant V D Medical Officers	2*
Supervisor of Health Visitors	1*	Senior Male Orderly	1*
Assistant Inspector of Midwives	1*	Assistant Male Orderlies	5*
Tuberculosis Visitors	4*	Clerk Dispenser	1*
Health Visitors	15*	Sister	1*
Masseuses	2*	Nurses	3*
Artificial Sunlight Assistant and Masseuse	1*	<i>Salford House—</i>	
Municipal Midwives	13*	Manager	1
<i>Ladywell Sanatorium and Isolation Hospital—</i>		<i>Hope Hospital—</i>	
Medical Superintendent	1*	Medical Superintendent	1*
Assistant Resident Medical Officer	1*	Anaesthetist, Radiologist and Lecturer	1*
Matron	1*	Matron	1*
Assistant Matron	1*	Assistant Matron	1*
Sisters	12†	Junior Assistant Matron	1†
Staff Nurses	7*	Assistant Tutor Sister	1*
Assistant Nurses	—*	X-Ray Sister	1*
Clerks	2*	Night Superintendent	1*

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HEALTH DEPARTMENT — <i>continued</i>		EDUCATION DEPARTMENT	
<i>Hope Hospital—continued</i>		Director of Education	1*
		Chief Assistant	1
Charge Sister	1*	Chief Clerk, Elementary Education	1
Head Attendant on Male Mental Ward	1*	Chief Clerk, Higher Education	1
Charge Attendants on Male Mental Ward	3*	Chief Clerk, Accounts	1
Steward	1	Chief Clerk, Royal Technical College	1
Assistant Steward	1	Senior Clerks	4
Clerks	5	Clerks Male 22, Female 16	38
Storekeeper	1	Superintendent of School Buildings	1
Assistant Storekeepers	2	Assistant Superintendent of School Buildings	1
Dispenser	1*	Blind Persons Welfare Officer	1
Dispensary Assistant	1	Blind Persons Home Teachers	4†
Matron's Storekeeper	1	Superintendent of School Attendance Officers	1
Assistant Medical Superintendent	1*	Senior School Attendance Officers	2
Resident Medical Officer	1*	School Attendance Officers (11 men and 1 woman)	12
Resident Obstetric Officer	1*	Hallkeeper, Education Office	1
2nd Assistant Matron	1*	Woman Officer, Children and Young Persons Act	1
Home Sister	1*	Lecture Assistant and Laboratory Steward	1
Assistant Home Sister	1*	Assistant School Medical Officers	5*
Tutor Sister	1*	School Dentists	4*
Assistant Tutor Sister	1*	Superintendent Nurse	1*
Maternity Sister	1*	School Nurses	15*
Theatre Sister	1*		
Assistant Theatre Sister	1*		
Night Superintendent	1*		
Charge Sisters	36*		
Staff Nurses	20*		
Attendant on Female Mental Ward	1*		
Masseuses	3*		
Clerk	1		
Assistant Dispenser	1*		

Appendices

GAS DEPARTMENT •		Assistant Superintendent,	
Gas Engineer and Manager	1*	Stoves and Maintenance Department	1
Deputy Engineer and Manager	1*	Superintendent, Meter Repairing Department	1*
Assistant Engineer	1*	Superintendent, Meter and Stoves Fixing Department	1
Chief Works Superintendent	1*	Chief Fittings Inspector	1*
Assistant Superintendent Nos 2, 3, and 4 Works	1*	Assistant to Joint Indoor Superintendents	1
Joint Indoor Superintendent (Administration) •	1*	Chief Clerk	1
Joint Indoor Superintendent (Accountancy)	1†	Chief Clerk, Nos 2, 3, and 4 Works	1
Chief Draughtsman	1†	Chief Clerk, Outdoor Department	1
Outdoor Superintendent	1†	Statistician	1
Deputy Outdoor Superintendent	1*	Engineer's Secretary	1
Chief Chemist and Superintendent of No 1 Works	1*	Accountant Clerk	1
Assistant Chemist	1*	Assistant Accountant Clerk	1
Laboratory Assistants	2	Chief Correspondence Clerk	1
Draughtsman	1	Senior Order Clerk	1
Engineering Assistants and Draughtsmen	3*	Order Clerk	1
Foreman in charge, No 1 Works	1	Senior Stoves Clerk	1
Foremen in charge, Nos 2, 3, and 4 Works	3	Clerks	22
Superintendent, Meter Inspection Department	1	Clerk, Outdoor Department	1
Assistant Superintendent, Meter Inspection Department	1	Technical Assistant, Outdoor Department	1*
Superintendent, Stoves and Maintenance Department	1†	Inspection Clerks	10
		Machine Clerks	3
		Check Inspector	1
		Mill Meter Inspector	1
		Meter Inspectors	21
		Fittings Inspectors	10*
		Maintenance Inspectors	3

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GAS DEPARTMENT—continued

Canvassers	1
Store and Timekeeper, No 1 Works	1
Assistant Store and Time- keeper, No 1 Works	1
Storekeeper, Outdoor Department	1
Timekeeper, Outdoor Department	1
Timekeeper and Works Cost Clerk, 2, 3, and 4 Works	1
Governor House Atten- dant	1
Cashier and Salesman	1
Stoves Salesmen	5
Supervisor, Stoves Re- pairing Shop	1
Lamp Inspector	1
Chief Salesman	1

'Deputy Consumers' En- gineer and Sales Manager	1
Technical Assistant to Consumers' Engineer	1†
Electro-Technical Assis- tant	1†
E H T Engineers	3 (1†)
Technical Assistants Agecroft Power Station	1†
Building Construction and Maintenance Su- perintendent	1†
Maintenance Engineers	2
Charge Engineers, Age- croft Power Station	4
Chief Mains Draughts- man	1†
Senior Draughtsmen	3
Draughtsmen	8
Meter Superintendent	1
Electrical Testing Assis- tants	4 (1†)
Showroom Manager	1

ELECTRICITY DEPARTMENT

City Electrical Engineer	1†
Deputy City Electrical Engineer	1†
Generation Superinten- dent	1†
Assistant Generation Superintendent	1
Mains Engineer	1†
First Assistant, Mains Engineer	1
Assistant Mains Engineer	6
Consumers' Engineer and Sales Manager	1†

Substation Charge En- gineers	5
Junior Technical Assis- tant, Agecroft Power Station	1
Junior Technical Assis- tants	4
Control Room Atten- dants, Agecroft Power Station	3
Substation Attendants	6
Chief Clerk	1
Secretary to City Elec- trical Engineer	1

Appendices

ELECTRICITY DEPARTMENT—

continued

Chief Assistant Clerk	1
Chief Meter Inspector	1
Senior Clerk Accountancy Section	1
Senior Clerk, Consumers' Department	1
Cost and Fittings Clerk	1
Salaries and Wages Clerk	1½
Sales and Hire Charges Clerk	1
Order and Invoice Clerk	1
Senior Assistants to Chief Meter Inspector	2
Clerks, Male	33
Clerks, Female	8
Meter Readers	18
General Storekeeper	1
Shorthand-typists	4
Chief Showroom Assistant	1
Showroom Demonstrators	2

TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT

General Manager	1
Rolling Stock Engineer	1
Chief Engineering Assistant	1
Chief Clerk	1
Engineering Assistants	2 (1½)
Clerical and Administrative	34
Female Clerks	27
Traffic Supervisors	6
Foremen	12
Stores Assistants	7

WATER DEPARTMENT

Waterworks Engineer and Manager	1*
Chief Clerk	1
Rental Clerk	1
Clerk	1
Chief Water Inspector	1*
Chief Meter Inspector	1*
Water Inspectors	3*

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

DEPARTMENT

Chief Inspector of Weights and Measures	1*
Inspector of Weights and Measures	2*
Assistants	4

LIGHTING AND CLEANSING

DEPARTMENT

Director of Cleansing and Street Lighting Superintendent	1
Chief Clerk	1
First Senior Clerk	1
Second Senior Clerk	1
Clerks	6
Stores Control Clerk	1
Male Clerk, Shorthand Typist	1
Junior Clerk	1
Timekeeper and Machine Clerk	1
Cleansing Inspectors	6
Depot Foreman	2
Lamp Inspector	1

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PUBLIC ASSISTANCE DEPARTMENT		ART GALLERIES, MUSEUMS AND LIBRARIES DEPARTMENT	
Public Assistance Officer	1†	Director	1†
Senior Administrative Assistant and General Relieving Officer	1	Secretarial Assistant	1†
Settlement and Removal Clerk	1	Technical Assistant	1†
Central Index and Records Assistant	1	Junior Assistants	2
Administrative Assistants	2	Attendants	7
Relieving Officer	1†	Librarians	8*
General Relieving Officer	1	Assistants	17*
Assistant Relieving Officers	6	Junior Assistants	10
Clerk (General and Revision Enquiries)	1	Attendants	6
Clerk Cross Visitor (Male)	1	PARKS DEPARTMENT	
Clerks (Class "A")	8	Parks Superintendent	1*
Clerks (Class "B")	3	Assistant Parks Superintendent	1*
Clerk (Class "C")	1	Head Gardeners	9
Clerk (Junior)	1	Chief Clerk	1
Cross Visitors (Female)	2	Secretarial Assistant (Female)	1
Medical Officer for Outdoor Relief (Part-time)	1*	Inspector, Park Rangers	1
Certifying Medical Officer under the Lunacy Act, 1890	1*	No. 1 Staff Clerk	1
<i>Old People's Homes—</i>		General Clerk	1
Matron	1†	Storekeeper and Ticket Inspector	1
Visiting Medical Officer (Part-time)	1*	CEMETERIES DEPARTMENT	
		Registrar of Cemeteries	1
		Clerk	1
		Junior Clerk	1
		BATHS DEPARTMENT	
		Superintendent	1
		Female Clerks	2

LIST OF EXAMINATIONS SUGGESTED
AS APPROPRIATE TO THE LOCAL
GOVERNMENT SERVICE

The following is a reasonably comprehensive list of examinations* which are accepted in the Local Government Service. In view of the varied nature of departmental organization of local authorities the list can be regarded only as a general indication of the examinations applicable, such variations in departmental organization may necessitate some modification of the allocation of the various examinations to a particular department.

CLERK'S DEPARTMENT

- Law Degree of a British University
- Law Society (Solicitor)
- Council of Legal Education (Barrister-at-Law)
- Diploma in Public Administration
- Chartered Institute of Secretaries
- National Association of Local Government Officers

TREASURER'S DEPARTMENT

- Degree of B Com , B Sc (Econ), or Mathematics Degree
- Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants
- Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors
- Institute of Chartered Accountants
- Corporation of Accountants
- London Association of Certified Accountants
- Institute of Cost and Works Accountants
- Diploma in Public Administration
- National Association of Local Government Officers.
- Chartered Institute of Secretaries

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RATING AND VALUATION DEPARTMENT (OR SECTION)

A Degree of a British University
Incorporated Association of Rating and Valuation
Officers
Chartered Surveyors Institution
Incorporated Society of Auctioneers and Landed Property
Agents
Diploma in Public Administration
National Association of Local Government Officers
Auctioneers and Estate Agents Institute

PUBLIC HEALTH DEPARTMENT

University Degree in Medicine or Surgery
Sanitary Inspectors Examination Joint Board
Royal Sanitary Institute
Royal Sanitary Association (Scotland)
General Nursing Council
Central Midwives Board
Board of Education Health Visitors Diploma
Royal Veterinary College
Society of Radiographers
Chartered Society of Massage and Medical Gymnastics
Society of Apothecaries of London
Institute of Chemistry
Diploma in Public Administration
Chartered Institute of Secretaries
National Association of Local Government Officers
Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons
Fellowship of the Royal College of Physicians.
Pathological Laboratory Assistants
Home Teaching Certificate (College of Teachers for the
Blind)

Appendices

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

A Degree of a British University
Diploma in Public Administration
Diploma in Educational Administration
Chartered Institute of Secretaries
National Association of Local Government Officers
Specialist Diplomas (e.g. for Organizers of Physical
Training, Domestic Subjects, etc.).

ENGINEER'S AND SURVEYOR'S DEPARTMENT

Degree of B Sc
University Diploma in Town Planning and Civil Engineering
Diploma in Public Administration
Royal Institute of British Architects
Institution of Civil Engineers
Institution of Mechanical Engineers
Institution of Gas Engineers
Institution of Water Engineers
Institution of Fire Engineers
Institution of Municipal and County Engineers.
Chartered Surveyors Institution
Town Planning Institute
Institute of Public Cleansing
Institute of Sewage Purification
National Association of Local Government Officers
Royal Sanitary Institute—Sanitary Science as applied to
Buildings and Public Works
Institute of Cost and Works Accountants

LIBRARIES DEPARTMENT

A Degree of a British University
Library Association
Diploma in Public Administration
London University School of Librarianship Diploma

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PUBLIC ASSISTANCE DEPARTMENT

A Degree of a British University
Council of Legal Education (Barrister-at-Law).
Diploma in Public Administration
Chartered Institute of Secretaries
National Association of Local Government Officers
Poor Law Examinations Board—Relieving Officers
Poor Law Examinations Board—Institution Officers
Poor Law Examinations Board—Clerical Assistants
Poor Law Examination Board for Scotland
(See also certain of the examinations included in
Public Health Department)

HOUSING DEPARTMENT

A Degree of a British University
Royal Institute of British Architects
Chartered Surveyors Institution
Royal Sanitary Institute
Housing and Town Planning Institute
University Certificate in Social Science
Women Property Managers Association
Diploma in Public Administration
Chartered Institute of Secretaries
National Association of Local Government Officers

TRADING DEPARTMENTS

Institute of Electrical Engineers
Institute of Gas Engineers
Diploma of Gas Engineering
Institute of Chemistry
Chartered Institute of Secretaries
London Association of Accountants
Degree or Diploma in Public Administration
National Association of Local Government Officers
Institute of Cost and Works Accountants

Appendices

TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT†

A Degree of a British University
Diploma in Public Administration
Institute of Transport
Chartered Institute of Secretaries
National Association of Local Government Officers
Institute of Cost and Works Accountants
Institute of Mechanical Engineers
Institute of Automobile Engineers
London Association of Accountants

ESTATE, LAND AGENTS, AND SMALL HOLDINGS DEPARTMENTS

B Sc (Estate Agency or Agriculture)
Chartered Surveyors Institution
Land Agents Society
Auctioneers and Estate Agents Institute

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, GAS INSPECTORS

A Degree of a British University
Diploma in Public Administration
Board of Trade—Inspectors of Weights and Measures.
Board of Trade—Inspectors of Gas Meters

APPENDIX IV

*Summary of Advertisements appearing in three weekly Municipal papers for
the Week ending April 3, 1937*

<i>Number of Posts Vacant</i>	<i>Post Advertised</i>	<i>Salary Offered</i>
VALUATION DEPARTMENT		
3	Valuation Assistant— 1 Chief 2 Temporary	Chief £250 rising to £300 Temporary (1) £150, (2) £260
ENGINEERING AND SURVEYING DEPARTMENT		
1	Chief Engineering Assistant	£450 rising to £500
3	Engineering Assistant	(1) £250 rising to £300 (2) £275 rising to £325 (3) £330 rising to £390
2	General Clerk, Engineer and Surveyor's Department	(1) £125 rising to £156 (2) £104
1	Junior Assistant, Surveyor's Depart- ment ²	£55-£110 (according to age, qualifica- tions, experience), rising to £150

Town Planning Assistant, Engineer
Surveyor's Department (appoint-
ment for maximum of two years) £250

FINANCE DEPARTMENT		
1	Deputy City Treasurer	£400-£450 (according to age and qualifications)
1	Chief Accountancy Assistant	£240 rising to £300
1	Accountancy and General Assistant	£210 rising to £250
1	Senior Clerk, Accountant's Department	£250 rising to £300
5	Assistant Treasurer's Department	(1) £140 rising to £230 (2) £175 rising to £260 (3) £200 rising to £250 (4) £220 rising to £270 (5) £270 rising to £300
1	Typewriting, Correspondence and Mechanical Appliances Operator	£170 rising to £180
1	Chief Auditor	£375 rising to £450
1	Assistant Audit Clerk	£160 rising to £200
1	Collector	£200 rising to £275
1	Junior Clerk	£39 rising to £91 salary according to age and experience
1	Investigation Officer and Bailiff (Rates Department)	Scale £170-£270 appropriate point on scale

APPENDIX IV.—SUMMARY OF ADVERTISEMENTS—continued

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<i>Number of Posts Vacant</i>	<i>Posts Advertised</i>	<i>Salary Offered</i>
CLERK'S DEPARTMENT		
1	Town Clerk	Not less than £1,800 rising to £2,400
2	Assistant Solicitor	(1) £400 rising to £600 (2) £450 rising to £500 £750
1	Senior Assistant Solicitor	(1) £110 rising to £240
5	Assistant	(2) £120 rising to £150 (3) £150 rising to £200 (4) £150 rising to £200 (5) £200
1	Junior Clerk	£52, £65, or £90, according to qualifications and age
1	Chief Committee Clerk	£260 rising to £290
1	Committee and General Clerk	£250-£350
1	First Assistant	£200
M O H DEPARTMENT		
1	M O H and School Medical Officer	£800 £75 for travelling
2	Assistant M O H and School Medical Officer:	(1) £500-£600 (according to qualifications and experience), rising to £700 (2) £500 rising to £700

Appendices

4	Assistant Clerk	(1) £190 (2) £220 rising to £260 (3) £220 rising to £260 (4) £250 £180 rising to £230 £350 rising to £400
1	Health Visitor	
1	Female Organizing Lecturer	
<hr/>		
HOUSING DEPARTMENT		
1	Building Inspector	£250 rising to £300
1	Housing Welfare Visitor	£180 rising to £240
1	Assistant	£150 rising to £250
<hr/>		
SANITARY INSPECTORS		
2	Sanitary Inspector	(1) £220 rising to £250 (2) £275 rising to £350 (travelling allowance, £50)
2	Temporary additional Sanitary Inspector	(1) £230 (2) £260 (travelling allowance, £20)
2	District Sanitary Inspector	(1) £240 rising to £285 (2) £240 rising to £300
1	Additional Sanitary Inspector, Building and Sanitary Surveyor	£225 rising to £300

APPENDIX IV—SUMMARY OF ADVERTISEMENTS—continued

<i>Number of Posts Vacant</i>	<i>Post Advertised</i>	<i>Salary Offered</i>
1	Meat Inspector	£230 rising to £300 (and travelling allowance)
1	Swimming Pool Superintendent	£4 4s od p w
1	Chief Constable	£450 to £600, allowance £140
1	Library Assistant	£120 rising to £150
1	Chief Officer—Public Control Services	£700 rising to £800
1	Chief Officer—Fire Brigade	£300 rising to £375 (plus £52 in lieu of quarters)
1	Fireman	£2 15s od p w rising to £3 15s od
1	Fire Station Officer and Engineer	£4 p w.
1	Deputy Superintendent of Mains	Not mentioned
1	Clerk	£2-£3 p w according to experience
1	Secretary	£2 50
69 Total		

Applicants for 58 of these positions are requested to submit copies of recent testimonials
In 32 cases it is stated that canvassing will automatically disqualify a candidate

The majority of the U D C and R.D.C. advertisements appear in the *Local Government Chronicle*

In 28 cases forms of application were supplied on request

<i>Number of Posts Vacant</i>	<i>Post Advertised</i>	<i>Salary Offered</i>
PUBLIC ASSISTANCE DEPARTMENT		
1	Master and Matron	Master £75, Matron £75
1	Assistant Master and Assistant Matron	£65 each
1	Master's Assistant	£45 by £2 10s od to £55
4	Matron's Assistant	(1) £45 by £2 10s od to £55 (2) £45 by £2 10s od to £55 (3) £30 by £2 10s od to £40 (4) £50 rising to £60
1	Relieving Officer	£240 (travelling allowances £40)
2	Female Relief Officer	(1) £60 (2) £40 by £2 10s od to £50
2	Female Relief Attendant	(1) £40 by £5 to £55 (2) 36s by 2s 6d to 45s p w
1	House Female Relief Officer	£45 by £2 to £50
1	Head Nurse	£70 by £5 to £85
1	Male Staff Nurse	£3 10s od by 2s 6d to £4 p w
1	Night Charge Nurse	£85-£90
5	Charge Nurse	(1) £85 by £5 to £95 (2) £85 by £5 to £95 (3) £80 by £5 to £95 (4) £70 by £2 10s od to £85 (5) £70 by £2 10s od to £85

APPENDIX IV—SUMMARY OF ADVERTISEMENTS—continued

<i>Number of Posts Vacant</i>	<i>Post Advertised</i>	<i>Salary Offered</i>
PUBLIC ASSISTANCE DEPARTMENT—continued		
1	Junior Staff Nurse	£55 by £5 to £65
2	Female General Assistant	(1) £45 by £1 to £50 (2) £45 rising to £55
1	Sister	£80
1	Home Sister and Sister Tutor	£95 by £5 to £110
2	Sister Tutor	(1) £165 by £15 to £195 (2) £150 by £10 to £180
2	Holiday Sister	(1) £91 (2) £91
4	Ward Sister	(1) £80 by £2 10s od to £85 (2) £85 by £5 to £110 (3) £75 by £5 to £85 (4) £75 by £5 to £85
1	Maternity Staff Nurse	£81 by £5 to £91
2	Children's Attendant	(1) £55 by £2 10s od to £70 (2) £55 by £2 10s od to £70
2	Nursery Attendant	(1) £40 by £5 to £50 (2) £30 by £2 10s od to £40
1	Female Dispenser (Non-Resident)	£200 by £5 to £225

Appendices

1	First Female General Assistant (Laundress)	£50 by £2 10s od to £55
4	Laundress	(1) £60 by £5 to £70 (2) £55 by £5 to £65 (3) £50 by £5 to £60 (4) £50 by £2 10s od to £55 From £70 according to experience 48s rising to 54s p w (1) £50 by £5 to £60 (2) £40 by £5 to £55 (3) £60 by £5 to £70 (4) £60 by £2 10s od to £75 (5) 48s by 1s to 50s p w (6) £55 by £2 10s od to £60 (7) £60
1	Nurses' Cook	£85
2	Labour Master and Cook (Joint Appointment)	£50 rising to £55 in each case
1	Assistant Male Mental Attendant	£55
8	Assistant Female Mental Attendant	(1) £47 by £1 10s od to £50 (2) £47 by £1 10s od to £50 (3) £60 by £5 to £65 (4) £60 by £5 to £65 (5) £60 by £5 to £65

APPENDIX IV—SUMMARY OF ADVERTISEMENTS—continued

<i>Number of Posts Vacant</i>	<i>Post Advertised</i>	<i>Salary Offered</i>
PUBLIC ASSISTANCE DEPARTMENT—continued		
8	Assistant Female Mental Attendant— <i>continued</i>	(6) £50 (7) £60 by £2 10s od to £65 (8) £45 rising to £55 (if resident) 40s rising to 55s p w (if non- resident) £50 by £2 to £60 (1) £45 (2) £45 by £5 to £50 (3) £40 by £2 10s od to £50 £87
1	Casual Ward Attendant	—
3	Assistant Foster Mother	(1) £60 (2) £40 by £5 to £55 (3) £50 rising to £60 (4) £60—£75
1	Relief Foster Mother	(1) £40 by £2 to £50 (2) £45 rising to £55 (1) £50 rising to £65 (2) £52
1	Barber and Relief Officer	—
4	Male Attendant	—
2	Female Attendant	—
2	Porter	—

(1) £50 by £2 10s to £55

(2) £50 by £5 to £65

£50 by £5 to £60

£40 by £2 10s od to £55

£50 by £5 to £65

£30

£32

£200 by £10 to £250

£85 by £10 to £105

£60 by £2 10s od to £75

(1) £36-£40-£45

(2) 1st year £30, 2nd year £35, 3rd

year £40, 4th year £45

(3) 1st year £30, 2nd year £35,

3rd year £40

(4) 21s 1d rising to 42s 7d p w

(1) £70 by £5 to £80

(2) £70 by £5 to £75

(3) £75 by £5 to £85

(4) £76 by £5 to £86

(5) £60 by £2 10s od to £65

(6) £60 by £5 to £70

(7) £65 by £5 to £80

(8) £130 by £5 to £140

(9) £146 by £5 to £166

Appendices

APPENDIX IV.—SUMMARY OF ADVERTISEMENTS—continued

<i>Number of Posts Vacant</i>	<i>Post Advertised</i>	<i>Salary Offered</i>
33	Assistant Nurse	
		(1) £30 by £2 10s od to £40
		(2) £35 (by £5 in respect of each year of previous ex- perience to maximum of £55)
		(3) £40 by £2 10s od to £55
		(4) £45
		(5) £45 by £2 10s od to £55
		(6) £45 by £5 to £55
		(7) £45 by £5 to £60
		(8) £50 by £2 10s od to £55
		(9) £50 by £2 10s od to £60
		(10) £50
		(11) £52 10s od by £2 10s od to £60
		(12) £55 by £2 10s od to £70
		(13) £55 by £5 to £60
		(14) £55 by £5 to £65
		(15) £56 by £2 10s od to £61

The Local Government Officer

3	Junior Assistant Nurse	(16) £56 by £5 to £60	(3)
1	Barber, Bath Attendant and General Assistant	(17) £60 by £2 to £70	(1)
		(18) £70 by £5 to £75	(1)
2	Charge Attendant and Deputy to Master, and Cook and Assistant to Matron (Joint appointment)	£35 by £5 to £45	(3)
		£60	

152 Total

In 101 cases application forms have to be obtained In 21 cases testimonials are requested

APPENDIX V

Model Staff Regulations

[With acknowledgments to the City of Birmingham and the Urban District Councils of Dagenham and Wembley, whose forms of application for Junior Non-manual employment, and excellent Staff Regulations respectively, have afforded much useful guidance]

I ADMINISTRATION

For the purpose of consultation between the Council and its Officers on all matters affecting the Administrative, Technical, and Clerical Staffs other than questions of personal discipline, promotion or efficiency, there shall be established (as prescribed in Appendix A) a Joint Committee with the objects and terms of reference and subject to the rules and regulations mentioned in such Appendix. The recommendations of the Joint Committee shall be submitted to a Standing Committee of the Council to be known as the Establishment Committee. In the event of the Establishment Committee disagreeing with the recommendations of the Joint Committee such recommendations shall be referred to the Council for directions, with an intimation of the Establishment Committee's reasons for disagreement, and with a view to reference back to the Joint Committee, if necessary.

2 ESTABLISHMENT

The Establishment Committee shall determine the number of officers in the various grades required to perform the duties devolving upon the Council in each department. Such establishment shall be subject to annual review and reports from the heads of the various departments (employing committees) and shall not be varied except under paragraph 4 (c) or for urgent or necessary reasons. Tem-

Appendices

porary appointments shall only be made for work of a terminating character and any such appointments shall be authorized by the Establishment Committee subject to review every three months

3 GRADING AND CLASSIFICATION

All officers on the permanent establishment within the scope of the following grades shall be appropriately classified —

[Insert Grading Scheme]

In classifying the officers a valuation shall be made of the duties performed by the occupant of each position, the responsibilities involved and the qualifications necessary for the efficient discharge of such duties

4 INCREMENTS AND PROMOTIONS

- (a) All increments shall fall due on _____ in each year, provided that in the case of new entrants not less than six months shall elapse before the first increment becomes payable
- (b) Automatic advancement, subject to satisfactory service, shall be granted within the grade in which each officer is placed until the ultimate limit of the grade is reached. In the event of an adverse report the observations thereon of the officer concerned shall be obtained in writing and the provisions of No 12 of these Regulations, where applicable, shall operate.
- (c) Promotions from one grade to another shall not take place unless there is a vacancy in the higher grade, or, in the opinion of the Establishment Committee, the nature and importance of the duties performed by the members of the staff concerned justify his being placed in a higher grade. Promotion shall be by merit, experience, length of service, and general qualifications being taken into account.

The Local Government Offices

- (d) On promotion the officer concerned shall be placed on the new scale at a point (next above) (nearest to, but not less than) his existing salary and receive his first increment on the appropriate scale on the following, provided that not less than six months shall elapse after promotion before the first increment becomes payable

5 APPOINTMENTS

- (a) The Establishment Committee shall recommend to the Council the appointment or promotion of suitable persons to any vacant position and for the purpose of interviewing candidates shall have power to appoint a special Sub-Committee
- (b) All vacancies for juniors shall be publicly advertised. Applicants shall be required to be not less than years of age and to pass successfully an entrance examination to be conducted by the Council or to produce evidence of the possession of the certificate of success of an appropriate recognized examining body (See Appendix B)
- (c) Except where it is intended to fill them by promotion, all vacancies shall be publicly advertised
- (d) Promotions shall be made as far as possible from officers in a lower grade, but the Council reserve the right to advertise any vacancy. In the latter case the existing staff shall be permitted to apply in conjunction with other applicants on the understanding that their existing employment by the Council will in no way influence selection for the new post. In the event of any such applicant not being successful his existing employment with the Council shall not be prejudiced thereby
- (e) Applicants attending for interview in connection with any appointment shall be paid travelling expenses at third class railway fare and other reasonable out-of-pocket expenses incurred

Appendices

6 MEDICAL EXAMINATION

Every person prior to entering the permanent service of the authority shall pass a satisfactory medical examination by the Medical Officer of Health or a Medical Practitioner appointed for the purpose by the Council

7 EXAMINATION SUCCESSSES

Except in cases where possession of a qualification is a condition precedent to appointment (or promotion) examination successes shall be recognized by grants in accordance with the provisions of Appendix C to these Regulations [*to be inserted*]

8 RELATIVES OF MEMBERS OR OFFICERS, ETC

Candidates for any appointment under the Council shall when making application disclose in writing whether to their knowledge they are related to any member or holder of any office or employment under the Council. Every member and officer of the Council shall disclose to the Council any relationship known to him to exist between himself and a candidate for an appointment of which he is aware. It shall be the duty of the Chief Officer to report to the Council or to the appropriate Committee any such disclosure made to him.

The purport of this regulation shall be stated in any form of application supplied for the use of candidates (See Appendix D)

9 CANVASSING

Applicants for employment under the Council shall not canvass members or officers of the Council or seek letters of introduction or recommendation. Violation of this rule shall be reported immediately and shall disqualify the person concerned.

The Local Government Officer

10 GRIEVANCES

Officers shall not canvass or make personal appeals, written or oral, directly or indirectly, to individual members of the Council. Any officer desirous of bringing to the notice of the Council any matters concerning himself or his position shall do so through his Chief Officer who shall report thereon to the Establishment Committee.

11 PRIVATE PRACTICE

No member of the staff may engage in any activity which would in any way tend to impair his usefulness as such, neither may he engage in any occupation or undertaking which might conflict with the interests of the Council or be inconsistent with his position as a member of the staff.

12 DISCIPLINE, DISCHARGE AND APPEALS

- (a) In every case an officer's first six months' service shall be on probation and his appointment shall be terminable at the end of or at any time during that period if for any reason he be reported to be unsuitable.
- (b) Normally officers shall give and be given at least one month's notice of termination of appointment unless in any particular instance the Council shall decide to accept less notice.
- (c) The Chief Officer of each Department shall be responsible for the management and discipline of his Department.

Where, by reason of any grave dereliction of duty or serious misconduct or other good and sufficient reason, a Chief Officer is of the opinion that any officer of his Department should be suspended from duty he shall forthwith communicate in writing the facts of the case to the Chairman of the Council and the Chairman of the Establishment Committee, who, after consultation, and, if necessary, interviewing the officer concerned,

Appendices

- may give such directions to such Chief Officer as they shall think fit, pending any subsequent consideration of the matter by the Establishment Committee.
- (d) Any accusation, proposal or decision by a Chief Officer which affects or may affect an officer's position in the service shall, except in cases in which the conduct of the officer has been such as to render him liable to criminal proceedings, be communicated in writing to the officer concerned without delay
If the accusation, etc., is the subject of a report he shall be shown a copy thereof prior to the submission of the same to the Establishment Committee and be required to initial it as a token of having seen it and be supplied with a copy
- (e) The member of the staff concerned, if he gives notice in writing that he so desires, shall be entitled to appear before the Establishment Committee either personally or by his representative
- (f) The Establishment Committee, after hearing all the evidence, shall recommend the Council what action (if any) shall be taken, but may, if it thinks fit, first consult the Joint Committee in the matter.
- (g) Should any accusation, etc., be received from an outside source against any officer, the same shall be immediately reported to the Chief Officer of the Department and the provisions of this Clause shall operate so far as applicable

13. HOURS OF DUTY

- (a) The hours of business in the offices of the Council shall be as follows —
 - Monday to Friday (inclusive)
 - Saturday
- (b) Officers shall be allowed to be absent from duty one hour (and a quarter) for refreshment in the middle of each day (except Saturday) and each Chief Officer shall regulate the time at which the mealtime is to be taken by his staff

The Local Government Offices

- (c) Members of the staff shall be allowed leave of absence from duty every third Saturday on a suitable rota to be fixed by the head of each department

14 OVERTIME

So far as practicable overtime shall not be worked; but when pressure of work requires it a Chief Officer may require the attendance of any member of his staff beyond the usual office hours. Officers who regularly perform additional duties outside office hours shall be allowed special leave by arrangement with the Chief Officer in lieu thereof.

In all cases where authorized overtime is worked officers shall be granted a refreshment allowance of _____ on each occasion in respect of evening duty Monday to Friday inclusive. Where in exceptional circumstances officers are required to work on Saturdays (after 2 p.m.) or on Sundays, special consideration shall be given by the Employing Committee to the question of a suitable allowance.

15 LEAVE OF ABSENCE AND SALARY DURING ILLNESS

If any officer shall be prevented from attending the office he shall, on the first day of his absence, inform his Chief Officer of the fact, stating the reason thereof, and if such absence shall be due to illness and continue for three days, he shall send on the third day a medical certificate stating the nature of such illness and its probable duration.

If the illness be of long duration weekly certificates shall be sent.

Provided always that where any such absence shall be due to illness the officer shall continue during his disablement to receive full salary for a period of six months after his disablement arose, and half salary for such further period as the Council may decide.

Appendices

16 HOLIDAYS AND LEAVE OF ABSENCE FOR EXAMINATIONS, ETC.

Officers shall be allowed in addition to the customary holidays at Christmas, Easter, Whitsun, and August Bank Holiday, annual leave of absence with full pay according to the following scale—

[Insert scale]

In addition to the foregoing any officer desirous of sitting for any professional or other approved examination shall be allowed leave of absence with full pay for the necessary period of the examination

Members of the Territorial forces shall be granted leave of absence additional to above for the purpose of attending Annual Training

17 RETIREMENT

- (a) Subject to the provisions of the Local Government and Other Officers' Superannuation Act, 1922, every officer shall retire from the service of the Council at the age of 65, or on the completion of 40 years' Local Government Service at his option, unless the Council shall pass a special resolution to the effect that his retirement will cause inconvenience to the public service, in which case he may be permitted to continue for a period not exceeding one year, and so on at the termination of each successive year of his age
- (b) The Treasurer shall report to the Staff Committee when any officer is due for retirement

18 COPIES OF REGULATIONS TO COUNCIL AND STAFF

A copy of these Regulations shall be issued to each member of the Council and each member of the Staff

19 COMMENCEMENT OF REGULATIONS

These Regulations, which cancel all Staff Regulations hitherto in force, shall come into operation as from the

The Local Government Officer

(APPENDIX A)

CONSTITUTION OF JOINT COMMITTEE

1. TITLE

In order that the Council and their officers may meet to consider matters relative to their mutual advantage there shall be established a Joint Committee called the "Council and Staff Joint Committee," hereinafter called "the Joint Committee."

2. CONSTITUTION

The Joint Committee shall be composed of Members of the Council, to be appointed annually by the Establishment Committee at their first monthly meeting after the Annual Council Meeting, and officers of the Council, to be appointed by the members of the official staff within fourteen days of the aforesaid meeting. The members thereof shall retire annually on the * and shall be eligible for re-appointment.

In the event of a member of the Joint Committee ceasing to be a member or officer of the Council he shall thereupon cease to be a member of the Joint Committee, and, such vacancy, together with any vacancies caused by death, resignation, or other disqualification, shall be filled by the Council or the officers (as the case may be).

3. CHAIRMAN

A Chairman and Vice-Chairman shall be appointed by the Joint Committee at their first meeting in each year. When the Chairman is elected from one side of the Joint Committee the Vice-Chairman shall be elected from the other. The Chairman of any meeting shall not have a casting vote.

Appendices

OBJECTS

The objects of the Joint Committee shall be —

- (1) The establishment of regular methods of negotiation on questions arising in respect of matters relating to the service between the Council and their officers, or between officers with a view to the prevention of differences and to their better adjustment when they appear.
- (2) To secure the largest possible measure of joint action between the Council and officers for the development and improvement of local government administration, and for the consideration of the conditions of all engaged therein
- (3) To consider all matters affecting the mutual interests of the Council and the administrative, technical, professional, and clerical staffs of the Council, and to make recommendations thereon to the Establishment Committee and to any organization of officers interested, provided always that no question of personal discipline, promotion, or efficiency shall be within the purview of the Joint Committee
- (4) To provide means for considering the utilization of the ideas and experience of the staff
- (5) To arrange for the officials to have a responsibility for the determination and observance of the conditions under which their duties are carried out.
- (6) To determine the general principles governing conditions of service, e.g. recruitment, hours, tenure, and remuneration
- (7) To encourage the further education of the staff and their training in higher administration and organization
- (8) To provide facilities for the full consideration and utilization of experience and ideas of the staff and of inventions and improvements in methods of machinery operating to the advantage of the local government service, and to permit the persons concerned to obtain an equitable share of the benefits arising therefrom

The Local Government Officer

RULES AND REGULATIONS

The Joint Committee shall meet as required, but not less than quarterly. The Chairman or any two members of the Joint Committee may direct the Clerk of the Council to call an emergency meeting at any time, subject to 48 hours' notice.

The matters to be discussed at any meeting of the Joint Committee shall be stated upon the notice summoning the meeting, provided that any other business may be considered, if admitted by the unanimous vote of those present at such meeting.

2. The quorum of the Joint Committee shall be representatives of each side.
3. No resolution shall be regarded as carried unless it has been approved by a majority of the members present on each side of the Joint Committee, and in the event of the Joint Committee being unable to arrive at an agreement it shall take the directions of the Establishment Committee on the matter.
4. The Joint Committee shall have power to appoint a Secretary or Secretaries.
5. The Council shall afford the necessary facilities for the staff representatives to attend the meetings.
6. The proceedings of any meeting of the Joint Committee shall be reported to the Establishment Committee in concise form, but before its submission the report shall be signed by the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Joint Committee.
7. The Joint Committee shall have power, from time to time, to call into conference any officer or to invite any member of the Council or other persons by agreement in an advisory capacity to assist the Joint Committee.
8. In the event of the Establishment Committee disagreeing with the recommendations of the Joint Committee, such recommendations shall be referred to the Council for directions, with an intimation of the Establishment Committee's reasons for disagreement, and with a view to reference back to the Joint Committee, if necessary.

Appendices
(APPENDIX B)

APPOINTMENT OF JUNIOR OFFICERS

LIST OF EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS

(*See Regulation 5b*)

- (a) (1) The Matriculation Examination of any University in the United Kingdom, or
- (2) Any examination for the time being in the list approved by the Board of Education as First Examinations
NB—Circular 1166 of the Board of Education, dated 5th July, 1920, recognized the following —
- (a) The School Certificate Examination of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board, University of Bristol, University of Durham, Northern Universities
- (b) The Senior Local Examination of Oxford or Cambridge
- (c) The General School Examination of the University of London
- (d) The Senior Certificate Examination of the Central Welsh Board, or
- (3) Any examination for the time being in the list approved by the Board of Education as Second Examinations.
NB—Circular 1166 of the Board of Education, dated 5th July, 1920, recognized the following —
- (a) The Higher Certificate Examinations of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board, University of Durham, Northern Universities,
- (b) The Higher School Certificate Examination of Oxford or Cambridge, University of Bristol, University of London, or
- (4) The Examination for the First Class Certificate of the College of Preceptors, or
- (5) The Preliminary Examination of the Board of Education for the Elementary School Teachers' Certificate, or

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- (6) The Examination for the Intermediate Certificate of the Scottish Education Department
- (b) The Preliminary Examination of any of the following —
 - The Institute of Civil Engineers
 - The Surveyors' Institution
 - Royal Institute of British Architects
 - The Institute of Chartered Accountants
 - The Society of Accountants and Auditors
 - The Library Association
 - The Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants
 - The Institution of Municipal and County Engineers
 - The Chartered Institute of Secretaries
 - The Law Society
- (c) Such other examination of equal standard to the foregoing as the Council may from time to time approve.

Appendices

(APPENDIX D)

APPLICATION FORM

JUNIOR NON-MANUAL EMPLOYMENT

This form to be completed in the Candidate's hand-writing and returned (with school reports) *without delay* to the Town Clerk, in the official envelope provided

NOTE—Before filling in your replies, read carefully the
“Information for Candidates” at the end of this form

- 1 Name (Surname first)
Use BLOCK LETTERS
- 2 Postal Address
- 3 Age last birthday years
- 4 Date and place of birth
(A birth certificate will be required to be produced before any engagement is made)
- 5 School at present attended, and date of admission
- 6 Previous schools attended, and periods of attendance (state number of years, in each case)

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7 Are you under any agreement to remain at school? If so, state date of its expiration.

8 If you are in employment, state nature of employment, and name and address of present employer, also past employers (if any)

9 Are you at present attending any Evening or Day Continuation Classes? If so, give particulars

10 If not, have you previously attended any such Classes? If so, give particulars

11 What Educational Certificates have you gained, including any Scholarships? Give particulars

Appendices

- 12 Parent's or Guardian's name,
address, and occupation
- 13 Have you studied shorthand,
typewriting and/or calculating
machines? If so, state —
- (a) Shorthand Speed
 - (b) Typewriting Speed
 - (c) Experience (if any) in use
of calculating, etc , ma-
chines
- 14 Are you related to any member
of the City Council, or em-
ployee of the Corporation? If
so, state the relationship, give
name of such person or persons,
and in the case of an employee,
the occupation and depart-
ment. If no such relationship
exists, answer "No "
- (See below for regulation relat-
ing to disclosure of relation-
ship)

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NOTE —

- (a) Write out in the space provided overleaf copies of *not more than* three testimonials, including one from school last attended
(The originals of the testimonials may be required to be produced, but must NOT accompany the application form)
- (b) Enclose your last three school reports
(These will be returned in due course)

Date

Signature of Candidate

REGULATION AS TO DISCLOSURE OF RELATIONSHIP, IF ANY

Candidates for appointment under the Corporation shall, when making application, disclose in writing whether, to their knowledge, they are related to any member of the City Council or to the holder of any office or position under the Council. A candidate who fails so to do shall be disqualified for such appointment, and if appointed shall be liable to dismissal without notice. Every officer and servant of the City Council shall disclose to the Town Clerk any relationship known to exist between himself (or herself) and a candidate for an appointment of which he (or she) is aware. It shall be the duty of the Town Clerk to report to the Board of Selection any such disclosure made to him.

No person shall be appointed to any office or position in any department of the Corporation of which department any relative of such person is the Chief Officer.

For the purpose of the foregoing regulations persons shall be deemed to be related if they are husband and wife, or if either of them or the spouse of either of them is the son or daughter or grandson or grand-daughter or brother or sister or nephew or niece of the other, or by the spouse of the other.

Appendices

TESTIMONIALS—Enter below copies of Testimonials

Particulars of school activities, hobbies, or other interests in which you have taken, or are taking, part may be added here —

The Local Government Officer

APPLICATION FORM FOR OTHER THAN JUNIORS

MINIMUM PARTICULARS TO BE INSERTED

Name

Address

Age and date of birth

Married or single

Nationality

Particulars of education, including examinations passed

Present appointment —

(a) With

(b) Length of service

(c) Work performed

(d) Present salary £ per annum, rising to £ per annum by increments of £

(e) Is the post designated for superannuation purposes?

(f) Act under which Superannuation Scheme is operated

Previous appointments —

(i) (a) With

(b) Length of service with dates

(c) Work performed

(ii) (a) With

(b) Length of service with dates.

(c) Work performed

Number of years in designated post for superannuation purposes

(a) Contributory service

(b) Non-contributory service

Particulars of shorthand and typewriting speeds (if applicable)

Dates of tests and certificates (if any)

Particulars of practical experience in work

Three copies of testimonials

Are you a relative of any Member, Officer, or employee of the Council or its Committees?

If appointed, when duties could be commenced

Appendices

The form should be accompanied by a statement giving particulars and conditions of the appointment, extracts from grading and examination schemes applying to the post, holidays, office hours, and sick pay

The applicant should be invited to submit a statement detailing his experience, particularly in the matters mentioned in the statement of particulars and conditions of appointment.

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THE FAR EASTERN TROPICS

STUDIES IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF
TROPICAL DEPENDENCIES

*Hong Kong, British North Borneo, Sarawak,
Burma, the Federated Malay States, the
Straits Settlements, French Indo-China,
Java, the Philippine Islands*

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PREFACE

IN 1901 I was appointed Colonial Commissioner of the University of Chicago for the purpose of visiting the Far East and preparing a comprehensive report on colonial administration in Southeastern Asia.

The report is now in course of preparation and will be issued in ten or twelve volumes by Messrs. Small, Maynard & Co., Cambridge, Mass., during the next four years.

The present volume is made up of two series of articles written during my absence in the Far East. One series appeared in "The Times" (London), the other in "The Outlook" (New York); and they make, in the form in which they are now issued, a group of studies on various phases of British, American, French, and Dutch colonial administration and policy.

Of the limitations of these studies no one can be more conscious than myself, but I am not without hope that, in the great scarcity of books in the English language on the subject of comparative colonization, students of political science may discover in them something of interest.

If the reader should find that there are many interesting questions which I have failed to notice,

I can only say that it is impossible to include in a single volume all that I hope to present in the extended report to which I have referred. My object has been rather to excite an interest in the problems of tropical colonization than to attempt a final disposition of those problems according to my lights.

Judging from my own experience during fifteen years of investigation in the field of colonial history and administration, the statistical and bibliographical appendices at the end of this volume should serve to smooth the path of any one who wishes to pursue further the lines of thought suggested in these studies; and I have introduced them in that belief, even at the risk of appearing to overload a book of short essays with the trappings of a scientific treatise.

Although it is impossible for me to express fully at present my appreciation of all the kind hospitality and the valuable assistance which were extended to me during more than two years' travel in the Far East, I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without acknowledging my deep sense of obligation to The Right Hon. the Marquess of Lansdowne, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; to The Right Hon. Lord George Hamilton, formerly His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India; to The Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, formerly His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State

for the Colonies; to M. Decrais, former Minister of Colonies in France; and to Heer J. T. Cremer, former Minister of Colonies in Holland, for the kindness with which they interested themselves in my work, to the extent of securing for me every possible facility of travel and study in the various countries and colonies with which they were officially connected.

Finally I must express my most sincere thanks to His Highness Sir Charles Brooke, Raja of Sarawak, to Sir Frank Swettenham, former Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States, to Mr. E. W. Birch, C M G., former Governor of British North Borneo, and to Major-General Leonard Wood, U. S. A., for assistance without which my labors in the Far East would have been in vain, and for hospitality which added to the great interest of my work all the charms of friendly companionship.

ALLEYNE IRELAND.

BOSTON, MASS., January, 1905

NOTE In order to avoid confusion in the reader's mind I may mention that I am a British subject, and that where I use the expressions "our colonial policy," "our Far Eastern possessions," and so on, I am referring to British policy, British possessions, etc

A I

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Eastern colonies, and the subject is to be approached from the standpoint of the limitations which are created by the local conditions prevailing in each dependency. But although in each colony our analysis of the system of government is to be accompanied by an account of the peculiar circumstances to which the local administration is adjusted, it is necessary, for the better understanding of the matter, that a few general considerations in regard to Colonial Government in the tropics should be set forth.

The colonies which are to form the subject of our inquiry lie in the tropics, and unless we develop clearly at the outset some of the fundamental conditions of tropical life, we shall be hampered by the necessity of explaining from time to time certain phenomena which may be accounted for once and for all by a statement of some of the general laws which govern civilization in the tropics.

The central idea from which we must start is this, that all human conditions, all human history, the whole expression of man in word and deed, are the result of the interaction of nature and man, of the animate and the inanimate — in other words, that civilization is the product of geographical environment. If we divide geographical environment into its unchangeable and its changeable factors, we find the former to consist of climate, the configuration of the land, and the nature of the soil; and the latter, of the surface conditions, which may be changed, for example, by afforesta-

tion, deforestation, or agriculture; the situation of a country, the effects of which may be modified by the introduction of railways, steamships, and telegraph lines, the unhealthiness of a country, which may be counteracted to some extent by hygienic science.

The changeable conditions of geographical environment will form the proper subject of discussion when each colony is dealt with separately, for we may then observe to what extent man has improved the advantages and overcome the disadvantages of his natural surroundings; our present concern is with the unchangeable factors, over which man has no control, and which may therefore be regarded as the origin of those fixed limitations which we must always have clearly before us when discussing any question which relates to the government of tropical countries. If we draw across a map of the world the northern and southern isotherm of 68° Fahrenheit—that is to say, a line passing through those places in the northern and southern hemispheres which have a mean annual temperature of 68° Fahrenheit—we cut off a belt of the earth's surface 3600 miles across, lying roughly between 30° north latitude and 30° south latitude. This belt is called, for the sake of convenience, the heat belt. In this heat belt lie Mexico, the Central American Republics, the West Indies, the greater part of South America, practically the whole of Africa, Arabia, India, Burma, Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, the Malay Archi-

pelago, Polynesia, and the Philippine Islands. Outside the heat belt lie the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, the greater part of Australia, Central and Northern Asia, Japan, the greater part of China, and the continent of Europe.

The extreme significance of this grouping becomes apparent when we reflect that, apart from the work done by Europeans and Americans in the tropics, the civilization of the heat belt has remained stationary for a thousand years, and that the advancement of humanity during that period has been carried on entirely by the inhabitants of those countries which lie outside the heat belt.

Bearing in mind the elements which go to make up our own civilization, — Western civilization, so called, — it is most important to realize that during the past five hundred years, to go no further, the people of the heat belt have added nothing whatever to what we understand by human advancement. Those natives of the tropics and subtropics who have not been under direct European influence have not during that time made a single contribution of the first importance to art, literature, science, manufactures, or inventions; they have not produced an engineer, or a chemist, or a biologist, or a historian, or a painter, or a musician of the first rank; and even if we include half-castes and such natives as have enjoyed European education, the list of eminent men in the domain of art, science, literature, and invention, produced by the heat belt can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

The point which I wish to emphasize is not that the civilization we prize so dearly is better than that of the heat belt, but that it is utterly different, and that no student of colonial problems who fails to adjust his observations to this overwhelming disparity can hope to reach any true understanding of the facts which fall under his notice.

It is necessary that we should examine the causes which lie at the back of the great differences which exist between tropical and non-tropical civilizations, for, with our tendency to overlook the limitations of places with which we are unfamiliar, there is a danger that we may underestimate the difficulties involved in reconciling these differences, and may cheerfully follow the lead of those who believe that the advanced state of knowledge in non-tropical countries has destroyed the significance of the race characteristics of tropical people so far as they constitute an element in the general problem of colonial administration.

The factor which comes earliest into play in the development of peoples is the accumulation of wealth, for, so long as any society is so situated that each member must work year in year out to obtain his food, clothing, and housing, there can be no advance in knowledge and no real progress. As soon, however, as there is an accumulated capital to draw from, some members of a society are relieved from the necessity of constant physical toil, and mental development begins. But in primitive societies the accumulation of wealth is regulated

by two elements — the extent and nature of the labor which a community puts into the soil, and the extent and nature of the return which the soil yields to the labor bestowed on it; and each of these elements is the product of geographical environment.

It is clear that the climate of a country determines to a great extent the labor conditions which prevail there. Thus, in extreme climates labor is sure to be irregular; for, on the one hand, the severity of the winter and the shortness of the days, and, on the other hand, the intense heat and the dryness of the soil in summer, render continuous labor throughout the year impossible. This irregularity of labor is followed by the worst results, for it produces a general condition of apathy and helplessness in the people, which, being transmitted through centuries, acquires the rigidity of a race characteristic. I cannot refrain here from drawing the reader's attention to a fact to which I have frequently referred elsewhere — namely, our readiness to accept extreme cold as a bar to civilization and our refusal to accord a similar influence to extreme heat. Any limits we care to set to the development of Terra del Fuego, on account of its climate, will be received without remark; but if we attempt to assign bounds to the progress of Mindanao, through which the heat-equator passes, a thousand voices are raised in protest. But to take up the thread of our argument. It is evident that we must seek the beginnings of civilization in those

countries where, either from the nature of the climate the labor conditions were favorable to the production of a steadfast and thrifty people, or where, from the nature of the soil, the return to labor was very great and favored the easy accumulation of wealth. Under all circumstances, however, the latter cause would work more rapidly than the former, for it is produced by a direct action, whereas the other is the result of a reflex action; or, as Buckle has expressed it, "in one case the effect depends on the relation between the soil and its own produce — the operation of one part of external nature upon another; in the other case the effect depends on the relation between the climate and the laborer — that is, the operation of external nature not upon itself, but upon man." Accordingly, as might be expected, we find that the earliest civilizations developed in the most fertile parts of Asia, Africa, and America, in those countries where the geographical conditions made possible that accumulation of wealth which is the first condition of human progress. With low wages for labor and high wages for capital, and with the mass of people excluded from the right of land ownership, wealth accumulated very rapidly in the early tropical states — India, Egypt, Peru, and Mexico — and at a time when the non-tropical countries were still sunk in barbarism these tropical States enjoyed a comparatively high degree of civilization.

To-day it is the tropics that are in a state of

comparative barbarism, and it is in non-tropical countries that we find the highest civilization. We must not seek to account for this change on the principle of the rise and fall of nations, and dismiss the matter with the idea that another turn of the wheel will effect another reversal of position. One nation, one civilization, may fall, and another may rise, but there is no resurrection of nations or civilizations; these changes fall within the orderly process of evolution, and a type once discarded is never revived.

It is clear that any civilization which is based on the fertility of the soil and not on the energy of man contains within itself the seed of its own destruction. Where food is easily obtained, where there is little need for clothing or houses, where, in brief, unaided nature furnishes all man's necessities, those elements which produce strength of character and vigor of mind are wanting, and man becomes the slave of his surroundings. He acquires no energy of disposition, he yields himself to superstition and fatalism; the very conditions of life which produced his civilization set the limit of its existence. Thus it happens that tropical man, having been moulded into a particular form by his environment, having, in fact, after many centuries, acquired his race characteristics, finds himself, when confronted with new conditions, incapable of action and helpless to defend himself. It is then that a hardier race steps in, whether by accident or design, and establishes a new dominion founded on princi-

ples which the weaker race can neither understand nor adopt.

If this has been the history of tropical peoples, that of the non-tropical peoples has been exactly opposite in every respect. In the temperate zones civilization had its origin and man acquired his race characteristics under conditions the very reverse of those which prevail in the tropics. In the temperate zones the three prime conditions of existence were clothing, housing, and animal food ; and these, so far from being supplied by nature, could be obtained only in a severe conflict with nature. Wild beasts had to be slain that their flesh might serve for food, their skins for clothing ; forests had to be felled and the earth itself robbed in order that wood and stone might be obtained for the construction of houses which would afford shelter from the cold of winter. Man existed only by virtue of the extent to which he rose superior to his surroundings. Under such circumstances progress was slow ; but it was accomplished under conditions which left each generation a little more advanced than the last, which improved the stock by killing off the inefficient, and which gradually developed in man the resources of his intellect. For non-tropical man nature was not a mysterious power which ruled his life and to which a blind obedience must be yielded ; it was an enemy which must be fought. Each success left man emboldened and encouraged, and each obstacle overcome made him more impatient of those which remained.

The history of Western civilization is the history of man's emancipation from the tyranny of his surroundings; that of tropical civilization is the record of his enslavement. The significance of this antithesis lies in the fact that whereas in tropical civilization each succeeding day, by building up a heritage of increasing weakness and dependence, wrote failure in ever-darkening letters across the page of history, each hour of Western civilization marked some advance and yielded to man some new augmentation of his powers.

Before drawing together the thread of our argument and applying our conclusions to the immediate matter under consideration — the problem of the government of tropical people by non-tropical methods — a few instances may be drawn from history of the operation of the forces which have been described above.

The first consideration which presents itself is that no division of the earth's surface can be made which is so mutually exclusive of types of civilization as that which puts mankind into a heat belt and two temperate zones. If we make a division east and west, and compare countries of like latitude, we obtain no violent contrasts comparable to those obtained under the other division. Leaving out such sparsely populated territories as Siberia and South America, we see a high civilization in the United States and Canada as well as in Europe; and Russia presents points of similarity to China as well as to Western Europe. If we take language

as our standard, it is found that English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, give us no great dividing line; that contributions to human advancement have been made for centuries in each tongue; and that if we would secure a differentiation along this line we must compare the languages of Europe with those of the tropics, arriving by this method at our old division.

An interesting confirmation of our theory is furnished by the rise and decadence of Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal as the great powers of the world, and by the gradual northern movement of the centre of the highest civilization. The climatic conditions of those countries which lie in the south of Europe are more nearly tropical than those of the northerly countries, and consequently in them civilization developed more quickly, but at a later date, when the northern countries had reached, by more tedious processes, a certain degree of civilization, they took the sceptre from their southern neighbors, as the latter had taken it from Egypt and Northern Africa; and for the same reason, namely, that the climatic discipline of the country to the north produced qualities of dominance

To note but one more fact which bears on our theory. It is interesting to recall that the tide of conquest since the Middle Ages has, with very few exceptions, run from north to south. The only permanent conquests east and west in like latitudes have been those in which an overwhelming superiority of numbers and resources has rested with one

of the parties to the contest, as for instance in the partition of Poland and the conquest of North America by France, Spain, and England. Yet practically the whole of Africa, the whole of tropical America, and the greater part of tropical Asia have been conquered and are to-day ruled by northern nations or by persons having northern blood in their veins.

I am aware that the above brief sketch of a theory leaves many things unaccounted for, but the broad outlines are, I hope, indicated with sufficient clearness to justify an application of the principles which have been developed in the course of our inquiry. Any nation which undertakes the administration of a tropical territory is charged with a twofold task — the formulation of a colonial policy, and the determination of the means by which that policy is to be carried out. On the most important point of colonial policy there can be no halting between two opinions. Having regard to the entire dissimilarity of Western civilization and that of the tropics, it must be determined at the outset what ideals are to prevail in the system of administration. In this matter the policy of all nations has been the same. Where the majority of the inhabitants of a colony belong to a civilization differing greatly from that of the sovereign state, the character of the administration has always been determined by the ideals of the dominant power, and native methods have been abolished. It is not a mere question of excluding the natives from office

— Englishmen fill scarcely one fourth of the offices in India, and Dutch officials are outnumbered by native officials in Java — but of imparting a particular character to the system of government.

It may be taken for granted that in tropical colonies controlled by Europeans or Americans, Western methods of government will be insisted on; and there remains then the problem of insuring the continued existence of a government of Western character. In regard to this problem there exists the greatest diversity of opinion, and it is here that the importance of a clear view of the origin and permanence of race characteristics becomes apparent.

When a tropical colony is first taken over, every one is agreed that the new order of things must be established under alien guidance; but opinion is soon divided on the question as to whether the natives, having once been shown the Western method of government, may be trusted, after a period of tutelage, to accept the new ideals, or whether, from the inherent differences in race characteristics, a Western government can be maintained in tropical countries only as long as white men are on the spot to keep things in line. Those who hold the former view are divided by the difference in their estimates of the time which must elapse before the leading-strings may be cast off, some consider it a question of years, some of generations, others of centuries. My own opinion, based on a consideration of the facts referred to above and on observations made

during a long residence in the tropics, is that we may be right or wrong in assuming that our methods, which were developed under conditions differing most completely from those we are now considering, are better suited to tropical countries than those of native rule; but that of this there can be no doubt whatever, that if native ideals are to prevail, the substantial control of affairs must remain in the hands of natives, and that if the administration is to be conducted on Western lines the control must rest with white men.

It is very easy to misrepresent a theory of this kind, to call it an advocacy of despotism, to credit one who holds it with a desire to oppress the natives of the tropics and to destroy their civilization. But it is a theory capable of a very different interpretation. It is one which, if accepted in good faith, places upon the colonizing powers a solemn duty and a grave responsibility for the honest and efficient administration of the affairs of people whose development has reached the limits imposed by inexorable natural laws. It is a theory which will yield to any people the utmost degree of self-government consistent with the maintenance of a set standard, which will foster every native institution which does not endanger that standard, which will hope against hope that help, guidance, and encouragement may within measurable time change that which it has taken immeasurable time to produce.

CHAPTER II

HONG KONG

HONG KONG is one of the smallest colonies in the British Empire, but in more than one respect it is the most interesting. Its area is less than thirty-one square miles;¹ its population is equal to that of Washington (300,000); yet in the year 1900 Hong Kong stood at the head of all ports of the world in the magnitude of its shipping. In tonnage entered and cleared in 1900 Hong Kong surpassed Liverpool by five million tons, Hamburg by one million, London and New York by about half a million tons each. The exact figures were

TOTAL TONNAGE OF SHIPPING ENTERED AND CLEARED IN THE
FOREIGN TRADE IN 1900

Hong Kong	17,247,023 tons
New York	16,797,700
London	16,700,527
Hamburg	16,087,673
Liverpool	11,677,708

These figures appear the more remarkable if we consider the history of Hong Kong. The Island

¹ The New Territory, a tract of land recently leased from China and placed under the Government of Hong Kong, is not included in the figures relating to the area and population of Hong Kong.

was ceded to England by China in 1842, by the Treaty of Nanking. At that time the population of the Colony was about 5000, made up of pirates, fishermen, farmers, and granite-workers, living in huts made of baked-mud bricks, and holding no intercourse with the outside world beyond Canton, which lies ninety miles to the north.

This was sixty years ago, and to-day Hong Kong has a population of 300,000 souls, a fine city for its capital, splendid roads, schools, churches, banks, hospitals, clubs, hotels, newspapers, electric light, cable cars, — in short, almost everything which we are accustomed to associate with the idea of an advanced civilization, — while it is connected with the outside world by cable and by the most extensive system of steamship lines which converge at any single port in the world.

The transformation of Hong Kong forms one of the most striking chapters in the history of the white man's work in the tropics. It has not been accomplished without the commission of many grave errors of policy, due for the most part to the persistent refusal of the British Government to be guided by the views of the man on the spot; nor can it be said that even to-day the interests of the Colony are free from danger from the same cause; but the record, on the whole, has been one of brilliant success, and the administration of Hong Kong, though by no means free from faults, is a valuable object-lesson in the management of a Chinese community on Western lines.

The composition of the population of Hong Kong has been determined by two causes—the climate and the situation of the Island. The first of these, acting as a general factor, made it inevitable that the mass of the population should be of a colored race, for in no part of the tropics can manual labor be performed by white men, and it has always been found that, in places where the laboring classes are composed of colored men, only the very highest occupations will be taken up by white men. A natural limit is thus set to the proportion of white men which can be supported by any community in the tropics. The second cause, acting as a specific factor, assigned to Hong Kong a Chinese population; for if the climate predetermined a colored race, the situation of the island on the threshold of China decided which race it was to be.

The census returns of 1901 disclose the precise effects of these causes.

CIVIL POPULATION OF HONG KONG IN 1901

Europeans and Americans	6,454, equal to	2.27 per cent
Chinese	274,543	96.68
Others	2,978	1.05

It is clear that for a colony with such a population any form of government which involves a general representation of the taxpayers is impossible, for less than two per cent. of the taxpayers are British subjects, and more than ninety-five per cent. are Chinese.

In the long experience of England in governing colonies, a form of government has been evolved to meet the case of a colony in which the population is made up of a handful of temporary residents belonging to the ruling race and an overwhelming number of natives. This is known as Crown Colony government. Its essential feature is the entire absence of any popular element in the administration, and the direct control exercised by the Colonial Office in London over all acts of the local authorities; the theory on which it is based is this, that, whereas a representative government in Hong Kong which rested on a general franchise would place the British residents under the heel of the Chinese, a franchise which extended only to white British subjects would put the mass of the population and the great majority of the taxpayers at the mercy of a handful of merchants, and that under such circumstances the best way to secure honest and efficient administration is to place the control of affairs in the hands of a distant body of trained officials.

The principles on which Crown Colony government rests are stated with clearness and brevity in the following extract from Earl Grey's "The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration: "

Keeping steadily in view that the welfare and civilization of the inhabitants of the colonies and the advantage which the Empire at large may derive from their prosperity are the only objects for which the retention of these

dependencies is desuabable, and believing also that there can be no doubt as to the superiority of free governments to those of an opposite character, as instruments for promoting the advancement of communities in which they can be made to work with success, I consider it to be the obvious duty and interest of this country to extend representative institutions to every one of its dependencies where they have not yet been established, and where this can be done with safety, and also to take every opportunity of giving increased development to such institutions where they already exist, but in an imperfect form. But I believe that in some cases representative governments could not safely be created, and also that the same form of representative institutions is by no means applicable to colonies in different stages of social progress. The principal bar to the establishment of representative governments in colonies is their being inhabited by a population of which a large proportion is not of European race, and has not made such progress in civilization as to be capable of exercising with advantage the privileges of self-government.

Of such colonies Ceylon affords the best example. The great majority of its inhabitants are Asiatics, very low in the scale of civilization, and having the character and habits of mind which have from the earliest times prevented popular governments from taking root and flourishing among the nations of the East. Amidst a large population of this description there are settled, for the most part as temporary residents engaged in commerce or agriculture, a mere handful of Europeans and a larger number (but still very few in comparison with the whole population) of inhabitants of a mixed race. In such a colony the establishment of representative institutions would be in the highest degree inexpedient. If they were established in such a form as to confer power upon the great body of the people, it must be obvious that the

experiment would be attended with great danger, or rather with the certainty of failure. If, on the other hand, the system of representation were so contrived as to exclude the bulk of the native population from real power, in order to vest it in the hands of the European minority, an exceedingly narrow oligarchy would be created, a form of government which experience certainly does not show to be favorable to the welfare of the governed. Were a representative assembly constituted in Ceylon, which should possess the powers usually intrusted to such a body, and in which the European merchants and planters and their agents had the ascendancy, it can hardly be supposed that narrow views of class interests would not exercise greater influence in the legislation of the colony than a comprehensive consideration of the general good. To anticipate that this would be the effect of placing a large measure of power in the hands of a small minority implies no unfavorable opinion of the character and intelligence of the European inhabitants of Ceylon, but only a belief that they would act as men placed in such a situation have generally been found to do.

In Mauritius, Trinidad, Santa Lucia, and Natal a somewhat similar state of things exists; for although the preponderance of the uncivilized races in these colonies is far less overwhelming than in Ceylon, still, taking into account the immigrants from India and Africa (whose welfare is entitled to especial consideration), the inhabitants of European origin are but a fraction of the whole population. Hence it appears to me that the surrender of a large portion of the powers now exercised by the servants of the Crown, and the establishment of representative legislatures, would not be calculated to insure the administration of the government upon principles of justice and of an enlightened regard for the welfare of all classes in these communities. This end may, I believe, be

far better attained by maintaining for the present in these colonies the existing system of government, of which it would be a great mistake to suppose that, because the inhabitants are not entitled to elect any of the members of the legislatures, it provides no securities against abuse. Other influences are brought to bear upon the government of these colonies, which answer many of the objects of a legislature of a representative character. In the first place, in all of them, the press is perfectly free. The newspapers comment upon all the measures of the Government, not only with entire liberty, but with the most unbounded license; and the force both of local opinion, and also, to a considerable degree, of opinion in this country, is thus brought to bear upon all the measures of the administration. Every inhabitant of the colonies is also entitled freely to address to the Secretary of State any complaints or remarks he may think proper on the measures of the local authorities, subject only to the rule that such letters shall be transmitted through the hands of the Governor (who is bound to forward them), in order that he may at the same time send such explanations on the subject as appear to him to be called for. This privilege is largely exercised, and is the means of supplying much useful information. It is hence impossible that the Secretary of State can be kept in ignorance of any errors or abuses committed by the local authorities, while if he fails to interfere when he ought, he cannot himself escape the censure of Parliament. The greatly increased facilities of intercourse with the colonies have of late years effected a great practical alteration in the position of colonial governors, and whatever may have been the case formerly, it undoubtedly cannot be alleged that Parliament is now indifferent to what goes on in the colonies, or that faults, real or imaginary, which may be committed in the administration of their affairs can hope to escape the ever-ready

criticism of an opposition eager to find matter for objection to the Government of the day.

The Government of Hong Kong consists of the Governor, the Executive Council, and the Legislative Council. The Governor is appointed by the Crown, and holds his office for five years. The Executive Council consists of six official and two unofficial members, presided over by the Governor. Of the six official members five hold their seats *ex officio* — namely, the gentlemen holding the offices of Senior Military Officer, Attorney-General, Colonial Secretary, Director of Public Works, and Colonial Treasurer. The sixth official member is the Harbormaster, who holds his seat by appointment. The two unofficial members are appointed by the Crown, through the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The meetings of the Executive Council are not open to the public; but minutes are kept, one copy of which is filed in the Colony, and one in the Colonial Office in London. The work of the Executive Council covers a very wide range of subjects. The ordinary business may be divided into seven classes: 1. Any matter in which the Governor requires special advice — as, for instance, when the heads of two departments of the Government differ in regard to some proposed measure which affects both departments. 2. The granting of leave of absence on half-pay to officials. 3. The dismissal of public servants. 4. The discussion of such legislative measures as it is proposed to lay before the Legislative Council. 5. The considera-

tion of cases in which a capital sentence has been pronounced on a criminal by the Supreme Court.

6. The reading of such confidential dispatches from the Secretary of State for the Colonies as the Governor may deem proper to lay before the Council. 7. The making of regulations by the Governor-in-Council, as provided by law, on such subjects as quarantine, opium licenses, sanitary by-laws, and so on.

The Legislative Council of Hong Kong consists of seven official and six unofficial members, presided over by the Governor, who has an original and a casting vote. Of the official members five are those who have seats in the Executive Council, and the other two are appointed. Of the unofficial members one is nominated by the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce, and one by the Justices of the Peace of the Colony; the remaining four are appointed by the Crown, and of these one at least must be a Chinaman. Members of the Legislative Council hold their seats for six years, and are eligible for reappointment.

The most important duty of the Legislative Council is to pass the laws of the Colony. Any member may introduce a bill; but any bill, vote, or resolution, the object or effect of which may be to dispose of or charge any part of the revenue of the Colony, can be proposed only by the Governor or with his express consent. The annual estimates are discussed by the Legislative Council, and without its consent no money can be appropriated from

the revenue of the Colony. The meetings are open to the public, and a local "Hansard" preserves a verbatim account of the proceedings. The procedure of the Legislative Council of Hong Kong is, in the main, that of the British House of Commons.

Those conditions which render impossible the existence of a representative government in Hong Kong forbid also the introduction of municipal government in Victoria, the capital of the Colony; and there is thus no *imperium in imperio* in the Colony — everything — police, water-supply, lighting, sanitation — is administered by the Colonial Government.

It was proposed some years ago to establish a municipality in Hong Kong, and it is amusing to find in the Sessional Papers of the Colony a letter from a member of the Legislative Council opposing the change on the ground that "the evils that would spring from such a concession would destroy all confidence in the administration of affairs, and introduce the Colony to the municipal experiences of New York and San Francisco."

We have seen what the system of government is in Hong Kong, and we may now turn to the men who administer it

The Civil Service of Hong Kong is what is known as a Cadet Service — that is, a service in which all the high administrative appointments are reserved for men who have passed the examinations prescribed for Eastern cadets

An examination is held each year in London

(open to all British subjects, white or colored) for posts in the Home Civil Service, the Indian Civil Service, and the Eastern Cadet Service—that is, the Civil Services of Ceylon, Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, and the Federated Malay States. There is only one examination, and successful candidates are allowed to choose, in their pass order, the service they wish to enter, until the vacancies are exhausted.

Of the severity of these examinations Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell, in his "Colonial Civil Service," says "The examination papers are such as might be set, in an American university, for graduation honors or for a Ph D. But it must be remembered that they are prepared by men who have nothing to do with the instruction of the candidates, and hence are really more difficult than similar papers, set by a professor to his own students, would be in America."

The men who, after passing the examination, select the Hong Kong service, are at once placed on the pay-roll of the Colony at a salary of \$1500 silver (equal to about \$750 gold), and are then sent to Canton for two years to study Chinese. During this time they must pass four examinations in Chinese, and failure in these is followed by dismissal from the service. Practically all posts in the public service of the Colony, except those in the technical services, are open to cadets, and it is understood that, as a rule, no one but a cadet can rise to the highest posts.

The salaries of the colonial officials of Hong Kong are high as measured by the standard of official salaries in the United States; but they are by no means too high if the paramount importance of securing the best men for the colonial service is considered. The salaries of the principal officials are as follows, in silver dollars equal to about fifty cents gold each: the Governor, \$35,000; the Chief Justice, \$13,500; the Colonial Secretary, \$10,800; the Attorney-General and the Puisne Judges, \$8400 each; the Director of Public Works, \$7800, the Harbormaster, the First Police Magistrate, and the Captain-Superintendent of Police, \$6000 each.

As Hong Kong is a free port, and as the trade is almost entirely a transit trade, no record is kept of the nature and value of the cargoes which enter and leave the harbor. The only guide, therefore, to the financial condition of the Island is the annual return of revenue and expenditure. The public revenue of Hong Kong in 1901 was \$3,973,578 (equal to about \$1,800,000 gold) — that is, \$6 gold per head of the population. More than four fifths of the revenue comes under eight heads: assessed taxes (equivalent to our municipal rates), \$708,000; opium monopoly, \$687,000; spirit licenses, \$126,000; revenue stamps, \$442,000; postage stamps, \$356,000, rent of Government land and buildings, \$555,000; profit on the issue of coinage, \$184,000; and water revenue, \$169,000.

The accounts of the expenditure of the Colony

show that out of a total expenditure of \$4,000,000 only one million dollars went as personal emoluments. Of the remaining \$3,000,000 more than three fifths fell under the heads: public works (roads, bridges, buildings), \$700,000; military contribution (a sum paid to England for the defense of the Colony and in consideration of the assignment to the Colony as Residents of nearly five thousand troops), \$851,000; miscellaneous services (chiefly incurred through measures of sanitation and the prevention of plague), \$469,000; police, \$400,000, pensions and retiring allowances, \$178,000; and charges on account of the public debt, \$162,000

The task of administering the affairs of Hong Kong is a peculiar and difficult one. It must be remembered that very nearly ninety-seven per cent. of the population is Chinese, and that from the extraordinary difficulty of learning the Chinese language the intercourse between the mass of the people and those who are administering their affairs is limited almost entirely to brief official interviews. Fortunately, the Chinaman is, under ordinary circumstances, a law-abiding citizen with a wholesome respect for established authority. But the population of Hong Kong is not normal in its composition, for it contains an undue proportion of criminals. This is due to its proximity to Canton, and to the extreme mildness of the English criminal law as compared with that of China. As an example of this we may take the punishment which

would follow a third or fourth conviction of petty theft in Hong Kong and in China respectively. On the mainland an end would be put to the offender's career either by rubbing quicklime into his eyes or by crushing his ankle-bones so as to lame him for life, in Hong Kong he would get a few months' hard labor in jail. The result is that Hong Kong has become a happy hunting-ground for hundreds of criminals from the adjoining province of Kwangtung, and that the police force of the Colony costs about \$400,000 a year, or one tenth of the total expenditure.

But although the Chinaman is not, generally speaking, given to crime, he possesses certain characteristics which, from the standpoint of the colonial administrator, are even more difficult to deal with. Foremost among these is his absolute indifference to sanitary conditions of life. We are familiar with the idea of domestic animals living in some little hovel in the poorest districts of Ireland, and the picture is unpleasant even when we remember that during the day such animals will be out of doors. A Chinaman, unless he is closely watched, will keep pigs in the fourth story of a house in which perhaps a dozen families live beneath him; and on that fourth story, with its open-work floors, the pig will live and move and have his being until he changes his Saxon name for his French one.

Another thing which makes the Chinaman very difficult to deal with is the complete organization of all classes into guilds and secret societies, backed

by the solid influence of the clan and family ties. This social cohesion makes it almost impossible to protect individual interests or those of the Colony when these run counter to some habit or tradition of the Chinese. For instance, one of my Chinese servants commits an offense and I dismiss him. One of two things will happen : either I will engage in his place, unwittingly, another member of his family, a son, brother, uncle, or cousin, or, if by some rare chance I detect the relationship and refuse to engage the new applicant, I find it impossible to get a man in his place, for the union or guild to which the dismissed servant belongs will boycott me. It is the same in matters which affect the community at large. A man is fined by a magistrate for committing some offense against the sanitary laws ; the fine is paid by the guild, and the ends of justice are defeated.

The utter disregard of truth which is a marked trait of the Chinese character, the entire absence of any sense of shame when detected in a lie or in a crime, the mutual distrust which pervades all classes, the disregard of promises, the concentration of the minds of the people on the single idea of economy (which results, to give an instance, in a perfect readiness to eat diseased meat if it is sold a fraction cheaper than good meat), the incapacity of the Chinaman to feel ordinary physical pain (a peculiarity which has been mistaken by some observers for a remarkable fortitude in bearing it), the complete indifference to the misfortunes

of others — these things make the administration of a Chinese community difficult in the extreme.

It is discouraging to find that, as far as one can judge, three hundred and fifty years of contact with the white man has made no appreciable change in the Chinaman.

In talking over the matter with one or two highly educated and widely traveled Chinese gentlemen in Hong Kong, I was told that, with the exception of a mere handful of men in Hong Kong and the Treaty ports, contact with Western civilization had absolutely failed to change a single trait in the Chinese character; that we are as much hated and despised as ever we were by the mass of the people; that as far as the present is concerned, the existence of powerful armed forces alone insures the lives of the foreigners; and that, for the future, the probabilities pointed to the total exclusion of the foreigners from China. This they all deplored; but it was their sincere conviction.

At the time I visited Hong Kong in 1902 the administration was not in a very satisfactory condition. That this was to some extent the result of a heritage of disorder and lack of system may be gathered from a description of Hong Kong which appeared in "The Times" as far back as 1859:

Hong Kong is always connected with . . . some discreditable internal squabble. Every official's hand is there against his neighbor. The Governor has run away to seek health or quiet elsewhere. The newspaper proprietors were, of late, all more or less in prison or going to prison

or coming out of prison, on prosecutions by some one or more of the incriminated or incriminating officials. A dictator is needed, a sensible man, a man of tact and firmness. We cannot be always investigating a storm in a teapot where each individual tea-leaf has its dignity and its grievance — *The Times*, March 15, 1859.

In passing the following criticisms on the state of the Colony as I found it in 1902,¹ I wish to disclaim any intention of making a personal attack upon any official; and no one who has spent four months, as I recently did, in the Colony could fail to be impressed, as I was, with the fact that in the senior as well as in the junior ranks of the service there are a few men of the highest ability and usefulness, nor could he fail to notice that such men were few and not many. On my first arrival in the Colony I found the Governor absent on leave, the administration of the Government being in the hands of the General commanding the troops. This fact raises a question which I have often discussed with colonial civil servants, — namely, the advisability of allowing a military officer, however competent in his own work, to take over the civil administration of a colony. On general principles it has always appeared to me — and in this opinion I have the support of almost every colonial official with whom I have discussed the matter — that the proper officer to administer the Government in the

¹ On my return to Hong Kong in 1904, several changes had taken place in the higher ranks of the Government service, and a marked improvement in the administration was to be observed.

absence of the Governor is the Colonial Secretary, and that, in cases when there are special reasons why the Colonial Secretary should not be allowed to act, the duty should devolve on the Chief Justice. The training of a soldier almost always unfits him for the duties of a civil administrator; and in Hong Kong, where a number of vexed questions exist between the military and civil authorities, it seems ill advised to combine the highest military authority and the highest civil authority in the person of one official. During the three months immediately following my arrival in the Colony three different gentlemen occupied the post of Colonial Secretary, and three different gentlemen acted as Registrar-General. The reports of the Finance Committee for 1901 show that the attendance included an Acting Attorney-General, an Acting Colonial Treasurer, and an Acting Director of Public Works. The service of the Colony has suffered greatly from the evil of acting appointments, and a system should be introduced under which it would not be necessary to transfer so many officials from one department to another whenever a senior official goes on leave.

Owing to the fact that there has been no official of Hong Kong specially charged with the preservation of the colonial records or with the collection of a suitable library for the Colonial Secretary's office and for the Council Chamber, there is not collected in any one place a complete set of the printed records of the Colony; and although the Council Chamber library contained a History of

Dalmatia and Montenegro and a volume of Greek Verses of Shrewsbury School, I found it unprovided with a complete set of the Colony's "Official Gazette," or with the Administration reports of the other Crown Colonies. The system of indexing the official correspondence of the Colony was one of utter confusion. There appeared to be no recognized set of finely subdivided subject-headings under which documents could be classified with some approach to uniformity, and the result is that a great deal of time is wasted in searching for documents to which reference becomes necessary from time to time.

Two circumstances have contributed very largely to the unsatisfactory condition of the clerical work of the Colonial Government,—one the inadequate size of the Government offices, and the other the employment of a large number of junior clerks, Chinese and Portuguese, at salaries little better than those paid to day laborers. After visiting every Colony of importance in the British Empire, except those situated in Africa, I can safely say that the Hong Kong Post-Office and Supreme Court are housed in the most wretched building ever dignified with the name of a Government office, and that the Colonial Secretary's department, the Public Works, and the Registrar-General's office are little better off. The Governor, happily for himself, has one of the best Government houses to be found among the smaller Colonies, and, in addition, a charming summer residence at the Peak. It should be a source of satisfaction

to the people of Hong Kong that at last the Colonial Office has consented to the erection of a number of new Government offices.

The matter of the junior clerks in the service is one which will have to be faced if the service is to be improved ; and there appears to be but one satisfactory solution, and that is the increased employment of cadets. The service is a cadet service, a system which has worked admirably in the Straits Settlements. It is an expensive way of securing efficient colonial civil servants, and after the expense has been incurred the result will not be satisfactory unless the heads of departments set a better standard of work than has prevailed hitherto in Hong Kong. But with the infusion of a more vigorous spirit into the administration, and with an increase in the number of cadets, those faults in the Government which have led to serious attempts to secure a change in the constitution of the Colony should be removed by a process of internal reform.

I have laid a good deal of stress on the inefficient work of the clerical departments of the Government and on defects in the machinery of administration, for the reason that the experience of colonial officials proves that, whereas bad work may occasionally be done where the general system is good, it is the rarest occurrence that good work is done where the general system is bad. Nothing has been said of specific instances of bad work in the various departments of the Government of Hong Kong, because such criticisms would have involved a direct

reflection on the ability of individual officials. But two instances may be cited in which a grave responsibility has rested on successive Governors and on their advisers, and in which the interests of the Colony have been sacrificed to official dilatoriness. In 1894 a serious outbreak of bubonic plague occurred in Hong Kong, and from that time onward the Colony has scarcely been free from it. Notwithstanding the serious nature of such a visitation, it was not until 1901 that the Government took the matter thoroughly in hand by calling for a report on the subject from Professor W. J. Simpson; and a Public Health and Buildings Ordinance was drafted as the outcome of Professor Simpson's report and of the advice of Mr. Osbert Chadwick, C.M.G., and of Dr. Francis Clark, Medical Officer of Health, some eight years after the first outbreak of plague. The other instance to which I refer is the water-supply of the Colony. About twenty years ago Mr. Osbert Chadwick, C.M.G., was called upon to make a report on the water-supply of Hong Kong. He supplied the Government with a number of suggestions, which were only carried out in part. During the first half of 1901 the Colony was threatened with an absolute loss of its water-supply. So grave had the situation become in the Colony in April, 1902, that the water was only turned on for half an hour daily, and water had to be brought over from Kowloon in boats. The suffering produced by a water famine in a tropical country can scarcely be imagined by any

one who has not witnessed it; and it is one of the first duties of the Government to protect the people against such an occurrence. After an interval of twenty years, Mr. Chadwick had to be again called to the Colony to report once more on the water-supply.¹

The general condition of the administration of Hong Kóng suggests a step, the advisability of which cannot have failed to impress itself on the minds of all those who are familiar with Crown Colony government, the appointment, as servants of the Colonial Office, of two or three Inspectors of Colonies. The duties of such officials would be to visit in rotation all the Crown Colonies and those of similar type, like British Guiana and Jamaica, and to investigate the work of the local officials. The Colonial Office at present exercises a certain supervision over the officials in Crown Colonies; but it labors under the great disadvantage that its investigations are conducted away from the spot and by men who, however great may be their ability, have as a rule no knowledge from personal observation of local conditions. The men most suitable for the work of Colonial Inspectors would be those who had shown marked ability as Colonial Secretaries in the Crown Colonies and in other parts of our tropical empire.

¹ As a result of Mr. Chadwick's latest report steps are now being taken to provide Hong Kong with an adequate water-system.

CHAPTER III

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO

THERE is no portion of the British Empire in the tropics which has been endowed in a higher degree by nature with those things which, under the intelligent activity of man, spell wealth and success, than British North Borneo. A rich soil, an ample rainfall, a diversified surface of open plain and sheltered valley, a long coast-line, fine rivers, good harbors, and a climate no worse than that of the Malay Peninsula combine to make British North Borneo an ideal spot for the founding of a prosperous State. Nor is this excellence of material confined to the land alone. From the administrative standpoint the country is full of possibilities. The native population is very small, the opposition to the Government, since the death of Mat Salleh, is no longer of a serious nature; there is no frontier question; and, above all, the administration is, for all practical purposes, absolutely independent alike of arbitrary interference from outside and from that more insidious evil of the tropics, the divided counsels of an elected legislature.

The spectacle is that of a company of British merchants in absolute control of thirty thousand square miles of country, and free to adopt any plan which may seem good to them for the development

of their property. It recalls the task of the East India Company and of the Hudson's Bay Company, and serves to point the great advantages with which the newer company entered upon its work — facilities of communication with the outside world, the absence of military problems, and freedom from the difficult questions of policy raised by the existence of a very dense or of a very warlike population. In such circumstances one might reasonably look for some striking success, for some remarkable increase in the prosperity of the country, but up to the present time no such results have followed the acquisition of the country by the British North Borneo Company. That success, great success, is within the grasp of the directors must be clear to any one who knows the country and has had an opportunity of observing the fine administrative ability of the present Governor, Mr. E. W. Birch, C.M.G.;¹ but if the future is to be measured by the past, a grave doubt arises as to whether the Company, having secured an administrator who thoroughly understands the needs of the country and the best methods by which they can be met, will be content to give him a free hand, or will still insist that Leadenhall Street is the real capital of British North Borneo, and Sandakan merely a point at the end of a telegraph line.

¹ Since this was written Mr Birch has had a difference of opinion with the directors and has resigned. He now occupies the post of Resident of Perak, one of the Federated Malay States

Although our present concern is chiefly with the condition and government of British North Borneo, one or two facts in connection with the history of the country are of sufficient interest to call for a passing word.

In 1858 the famous East India Company ceased to exist; its political and territorial rights passed to the British Crown; its special trading rights had disappeared some years before. It was generally believed that the day of great commercial companies with the territorial powers of States was over. In 1869 Mr William Forsyth, writing of the Hudson's Bay Company, said: "I have endeavored to give some account of the last of the great proprietary companies. . . . It may continue to exist as a trading company, but as a territorial power it must make up its mind to fold its (buffalo) robes around it and die with dignity."

The British North Borneo Company, therefore, acquires a special interest for students of history from the fact that its charter, granted in 1881, marks the revival of the old discarded policy of commercial companies endowed with territorial authority, and because it is the oldest of that group of companies which includes the Imperial British East Africa Company and the British South Africa Chartered Company.

Another point of historical interest is that the greater portion of the territory of the Company was originally acquired in 1865 from the Sultan of Brunei, together with all sovereign rights, by

the American consul for Brunei, who forthwith formed the American Trading Company of Borneo. This Company, from one cause and another, failed to do any good with its territory, and sold its rights in 1877 to two Hong Kong merchants, Mr. (now Sir) Alfred Dent and Baron von Overbeck,¹ an Austrian. This led to the formation of the British North Borneo Company, which was incorporated under Royal Charter on November 1, 1881. "

Finally, it is a curious circumstance that the charter should have been granted on the advice of Mr Gladstone and his Ministers, confirmed anti-expansionists. This incongruity was noted at the time by Mr. A. J. Balfour, the present Prime Minister of England, who, in the course of the debate in the House of Commons on the granting of the charter, said: "This debate is, I think, the most singular thing I have ever listened to in this House. There have been a great many able speeches delivered in defense of Her Majesty's Government, but these speeches have all come from this side of the House.¹ There have been several Jingo speeches delivered here, but the most remarkable example of them has come from the Treasury bench " ²

So it is seen that the Company is remarkable in that it acquired its territory from an American citizen, its charter from a Liberal Government, and that the countenance afforded it by England marked the reestablishment of conditions which every one believed to have finally disappeared.

¹ 2 s. from the Opposition

² 2 s from the Liberals.

In the last chapter some account was given of the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong, and it is perhaps fortunate that the present chapter should deal with the British Protected State of North Borneo (better known as British North Borneo), for no two colonies situated in the same part of the world could possibly present to the student greater contrasts in every matter with which political economy and sociology are concerned.

The former has a very small area and a very large population; in the latter these conditions are reversed. The area of British North Borneo (30,000 square miles) is about equal to that of the State of Maine, the area of Hong Kong (thirty square miles) is less than that of the City of Indianapolis, but the former Colony has a population of less than four persons to the square mile, the latter a population of more than ten thousand to the square mile. In the thirty square miles of Hong Kong there are, excluding naval and military forces, nearly seven thousand white people, in the thirty thousand square miles of British North Borneo there are less than two hundred. Hong Kong exists only by virtue of its shipping, and agricultural interests are insignificant; in British North Borneo everything is of the land, — tobacco, timber, india-rubber, gutta-percha, cocoanuts, — and one steamer a week represents the foreign shipping of the country.

A comparison of the populations discloses yet greater differences. In Hong Kong ninety-six per

cent. of the people are Chinese — a race used to the life of cities, saturated with a political theory entirely democratic in all essentials, possessing a great literature and a native system of philosophy, a race moulded to a social form more completely developed, more minutely defined, and more unalterably fixed than that of any other country in the world. In North Borneo, on the other hand, scarcely fifteen per cent. of the population is Chinese. The mass of the people belong to three native tribes — Bajau, Dusun, and Murut. The Bajaus are a race of sea-gypsies — pirates turned fishermen, under British guidance, the Dusuns are a coast folk living in small villages or kampongs by the shore and along the foothills, the Muruts are a half-savage tribe in the far interior.

These people differ greatly from one another in many important respects, but from the administrative standpoint they have this much in common, that they have no written language, no cities, no wealth, and that the internal relations of each tribe are purely feudal in character.

To close our comparison, it may be pointed out that the brilliant career of Hong Kong, granted the maintenance of law and order, has not been due in any great degree to excellence of internal administration, but to the fortunate position of the Colony as affording a good harbor at the southern gate of China. British North Borneo is too young to have had a career as yet, since the State is scarcely twenty years old; but it is abundantly

clear that its present condition has nothing to do with extraneous causes, and that the future of the country rests entirely on the single question of wise and skillful administration.

The principal questions which the Government of British North Borneo is called on to face rest upon three main factors — two of local origin, the need of immigration and the general nature of the country, which together comprise the problem of development *per se*; and one of an extraneous nature — namely, the declared wishes of the shareholders of the Company, which may or may not coincide with the best interests of the country itself as viewed from the purely administrative standpoint.

The story of how the Company has faced its task of finding the capital, the population, and the administrative skill for the conduct of its enterprise may be preceded by a description of the general form of the Government.

The limitations imposed on the Company by its charter (1881) and by its deed of protectorate (1888) are of such a nature as to interfere in the smallest degree with matters of internal administration. They are the following :

- 1 The Company must remain British in character and domicile, and all the members of the court of directors, as well as the Company's chief representative in Borneo, must be British subjects

2. The Company is not permitted to transfer any of its rights without the express permission of the British Government.

3 Foreign relations are to be conducted through the British Government or in accordance with its directions

4. Perfect religious freedom to be allowed to all persons living in the territory.

5 The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has the right to dissent from or object to any part of the proceedings or system of the Company relative to the people of Borneo, and the Company is bound to act upon any suggestion founded on such dissent or objection

6 No general monopoly of trade may be set up

7 The appointment of the Governor of British North Borneo is subject to the approval of the British Government

Within these bounds the rule of the Company is purely autocratic. The Governor is free to introduce such laws as may appear to him suitable for the needs of the country; and in so far as he is given a free hand by the Company he alone is responsible for general success or failure.

Apart from the absolute independence of legislation enjoyed by the Company, there is nothing unusual in the organization of the Government of British North Borneo. The country is divided into districts, and in each there is stationed a district officer who acts as magistrate and tax-collector. The immediate superiors of the district officers are the Residents, of whom there are three, one at Papar, on the west coast, one at Tawao, on the east coast, and one at the port of Kudat in Marudu Bay, in the north of the Island. The work of the Residents and district officers is subject to the review of the Judicial Commissioner and of the Finance

Commissioner, whose offices are in Sandakan on the east coast, and finally to the approval of the Governor.

In traveling about the country I was much impressed by the excellent tact and administrative ability displayed by the Government officers. They spoke the language of the people, showed an interest in their affairs, were at all times accessible to everybody who wished to make a complaint or to ask for advice or assistance, and appeared in every way to command the respect and good will of the natives. In the discharge of their duties the district officers are assisted by the native chiefs, who, on condition of remaining loyal to the Government, retain their titles and are paid fixed allowances. The general effect of my observations was that the people were governed rather by force of personal influence than by the power of legislation, that the judicial relations were based upon wise and tolerant equity more than upon mere precise law, and that a perfectly friendly understanding existed between the Government and the natives.

Unlike the old East India Company, the British North Borneo Company does not conduct any trade on its own account, but confines itself to the administration of the country. The local revenue and expenditure accounts possess, therefore, this interest, that they exhibit the work of the Company in so far as it is a matter of profit or loss to the shareholders.

The paid-up capital of the Company is, roughly,

\$3,500,000 (gold), and there have been issued bonds and debentures to the amount of \$2,000,000 (gold), on which five per cent. per annum interest is payable. The proceeds of the issue of the debentures are to be devoted to the completion of the State Railway on the west coast and to other reproductive works. The general financial situation of the country is at present thus, that, over and above the expense of administration, the revenue must meet a charge of \$200,000 (silver) as interest on the debentures before any dividend can be declared on the paid-up capital. As, up to the present time, the Company has never paid a higher dividend than two per cent., it is clear that, unless all profits are to be swallowed up by the payment of interest on the debentures, the revenue will have to show a substantial increase in the near future.

The latest complete figures for revenue and expenditure are those for 1903. The total revenue for that year was \$906,310 (silver), equal to about \$5.20 United States currency per head of the total population. Of the total amount, seventy per cent. was raised from customs duties (\$279,594, silver) and revenue farms (\$365,503, silver). About sixty per cent. of the customs revenue is raised from duties on imports, and forty per cent. from duties on exports. The imports consist of the usual articles — cloth, cutlery, wines, spirits, tobacco, glassware, lamps, kerosene, and so on, the exports which contribute most to the revenue are tobacco, timber, gutta-percha, and india-rubber, edible bird's-nests,

and dyestuffs. The revenue farms consist of the monopolies of the right to sell opium and spirits, to keep gambling-houses and pawnbrokers' shops. These monopolies are sold to the highest bidder, who is always a Chinaman.

The question of the opium and gambling licenses is one which has been hotly debated in England from time to time; but out in the Far East public opinion has always been practically unanimous in favor of such monopolies. If three hundred years of contact with China has taught one lesson more thoroughly than another, it is that no legislation, no measures of repression, however severe (and much has been attempted from time to time in this direction), can turn the Chinaman from opium-smoking and gambling. I have no desire to advocate indulgence in these vices; but as a thousand voices are ever ready to condemn a policy which enables a State to draw a revenue from them, it seems advisable, for the better understanding of the matter, to say a few words on the other side.

As far as I am aware, no one has ever tried to make people believe that gambling and opium-selling are licensed in many Far Eastern countries because it is hoped by that means to eradicate those vices, the reason why they are licensed is because the sale of the monopolies produces a good revenue. But although eradication is impossible, a certain degree of control may be effected by granting to some one person or firm the opium and gambling monopoly. The effect of the monopoly,

as far as control and regulation are concerned, is this: the holder of the monopoly secures his rights only on payment of a very large sum of money, and retains them only for so long as he strictly adheres to the Government regulations. It thus comes about that, in British North Borneo, for instance, the Government has been able to put an end to two great evils which always exist in the absence of licensing, namely, gambling and opium-smoking by minors, and the use of clothing, tools, and other property for gambling-stakes or for the purchase of opium. No person except an adult male is allowed to purchase opium or to visit a gambling-house, and nothing except current coin can be staked or used for the purchase of opium. It may be suggested that if regulation to this extent can be secured under the system of licensing, it could be secured otherwise. But there is this vital difference between the license and the no-license system, that in the former case the opium and gambling farmer will, in the interest of his own monopoly, use every means in his power to prevent opium-smoking and gambling except in his own saloons, and to enforce the Government regulations under which his monopoly is granted; whereas in the latter case all attempts to suppress or regulate must be made through the agency of a paid Chinese police force, an agency which has been proved, after repeated experiment, to be utterly unreliable. Considerations of space prevent further remarks upon this subject at present; but I may

add that in Hong Kong and in the Straits Settlements, where gambling is not only not allowed, but is a matter for severe punishment, the vice is more prevalent and is accompanied with worse results than in almost any other places under European government in the Far East.

The expenditure returns call for little comment. The expenditure falls under two main heads, that on Revenue Account and that on Capital Account. The latter represents the cost of Railway and Telegraph Construction, Public Works and Buildings, Government Vessels, Guns, Arms, Instruments, etc.

The financial position of the country is shown by comparing the revenue with the expenditure on Revenue Account, and such comparison shows that until within recent years there was an annual deficit, and that this has changed to a small annual surplus which has permitted the declaration of a dividend of two per cent. on the paid-up capital.

The past policy of the Company appears to me to have been marred by two great defects; and it may be suggested that each of these has arisen from a hope or expectation, never perhaps openly expressed, but ever present in the minds of at least a considerable proportion of the directors and shareholders, that the country would be taken over by the British Government. The first of these defects is the attempt to secure interest on the paid-up capital of the Company by means of raising a surplus revenue from taxation, and without embarking upon commercial enterprises in the

country, which might be expected to return a legitimate trade profit. It might be said that the plan of the Company was to pay for the cost of the administration of the country out of taxes levied chiefly upon industrial enterprises, and that it was hoped that the expansion of trade would in a few years afford a surplus revenue which could be devoted to the payment of dividends to the shareholders — if the dividends were large, it would pay to keep the country; if they were small, the country could at least be offered to the British Government as a self-supporting concern. It became evident as time passed that the ordinary sources of revenue would not suffice to provide any considerable dividend for the shareholders, and that, if the country was even to be made self-supporting, additional taxes would have to be imposed. Taxation was accordingly increased, and during the past year or two a small dividend has been declared. The result, however, has been achieved only at an enormous sacrifice of the permanent interests of the country. To take one instance, I may mention the import duty on rice. It is not a heavy duty; it can scarcely be expected to yield more than two or three thousand pounds a year; and yet it is a tax so evil in its operation that it has had the effect of driving hundreds of people from the country, and of materially increasing the bad repute of British North Borneo amongst the Chinese. The view taken by the Chinaman in regard to the tax is that, rice being the staple food of himself, his

wife, his children, his dog, and his cat, to tax it is to make every member of his household, from the master down to the master's pet monkey, contribute to the public revenue. To impose a tax like this in face of the opposition of the entire Chinese community, in a country whose future depends entirely on the ability of the Government to secure and retain a large Chinese population, indicates a blindness to the real interests of the country which is difficult to account for in a directorate which contains gentlemen who are supposed to be familiar with the local conditions of the Company's territory¹.

The tax has been defended along two lines, one general and one specific. It is clear that, if the Company is to dispose of its territory to the British Government, the amount to be paid for it would be greatly increased if it could be handed over as a paying concern, and the directors may defend their financial policy by saying that, as their first duty is to the shareholders, any step calculated to improve their position is justifiable on that ground alone, the accepted view being that an immediate sale of the territory to the British Government at a good price would be better for the shareholders than a long struggle, of doubtful issue, to make the country a direct source of profit. The specific plea in favor of the rice-tax has a certain appearance of excellence. It is ridiculous, say the rice-

¹ The rice-tax has been abolished since the above was written.

taxers, that a country so well suited to the cultivation of rice should import rice. The country should grow its own rice, and the only way to bring this about is to tax the imported article. But this argument cannot be offered in sincerity. If it was really the aim of the Government that the country should grow its own rice (a matter really of little importance, or at any rate of little urgency, in view of the proximity of Borneo to great rice-growing countries), the end could have been achieved by paying a small bounty on rice culture, a policy which would have encouraged the immigration of Chinese, stopped the Chinese exodus, and provided for its own cost by automatically increasing the value of the opium and gambling monopoly, the annual rent of which depends entirely on the number of Chinamen in the country. I may dismiss the matter by saying that no official in North Borneo with whom I spoke on the subject approved of the rice-tax, and that repeated representations have been made to the Directors with a view to securing its repeal. The matter is important, however, as an indication of the policy of the Company.

The Company appears to me to have signally failed in its attempts to formulate a sound financial policy, and thus far it seems to have been scarcely more successful in its plans for the development of the country.

During the first few years of the Company's rule a certain amount of exploration was done by Wittig, Hatton, and Pryer, with the result that a rough idea

was obtained of the possibilities of the country in the direction of mining and agriculture; but the work was never carried out as it should have been, and it was only in 1902 that mineral prospecting was undertaken on a large scale. The early investigations, however, served to establish two points beyond all doubt — namely, that the two great needs of the country were population and means of communication; and it must always have been clear to those on the spot that without these things success of any kind was impossible. Steps were taken to establish a steady flow of Chinese immigration from Hong Kong and the China coast ports, and during the eighties some thousands of Chinamen entered the country. The Government appears, unfortunately, to have taken no care that the Chinese coolies should be well treated by their employers, and tales of ill treatment were carried back to China, the effects of which are still apparent in the general disinclination of the Chinese to emigrate to British North Borneo. Further, the tide of immigration having set in, the Government took no steps to provide work for the immigrants. It could not be expected that private enterprise would be able at once to absorb the supply of laborers; but the Government, instead of taking advantage of the glut in the labor market to push ahead with Public Works, allowed hundreds of the coolies to remain idle in the ports, until in desperation they returned to Hong Kong or China, thoroughly out of patience with the country. The effect of this was disastrous.

Not only were the most necessary Public Works neglected at a time when the supply of labor would have made them easy of accomplishment, but the country got a bad name amongst the very class of people whose good opinion it was most necessary to secure. Having once obtained a steady supply of Chinese, the Government should have kept them occupied until the growth of agricultural or other industries allowed them to be drafted off to private employers. But this was not done, and by the nineties the Government found itself short of labor for the construction of roads and other much-needed works, and prospective settlers were turned from their purpose because of the evident lack of a labor supply. The mismanagement of the immigration question is the more difficult to understand from the fact that the Government must have known that an influx of Chinese would always pay for itself by increasing the rent of the opium and gambling monopoly (about one third of the total revenue of British North Borneo is derived from this source), and that the revenue could suffer no greater disaster than that which would follow an exodus of Chinese, or even a falling off of Chinese immigration.

Turning now to the other great question, internal communications, the policy of the Company is only to be explained on the theory that the Directors wished to make British North Borneo attractive to the British Government in its capacity as a possible purchaser. The history of colonization has many lessons to offer to the student, and none

more emphatic than this, that for an undeveloped country, and especially for a country of dense forests, the first, great need is good roads, the second, the utilization and improvement of existing river communications. After twenty years of the Company's rule British North Borneo cannot boast twenty miles of good roads, and, with the exception of a rare visit from a steam launch, river communication is what it was under the Sultans. The Company has, however, spent about £200,000 on the construction of a railway on the west coast, and about £50,000 on a telegraph line connecting Sandakan with the cable station of the Eastern Extension Company at Labuan. In regard to the telegraph line, it must be looked on, as far as the interests of the country itself are concerned, as a luxury pure and simple, which might well have been left until some of the pressing needs had been met; but "telegraphic connection with London" sounds well, and might be expected to appeal to the sensibilities of the British Government.

The railway is another matter, and its construction raises two important questions—the wisdom of spending such a large sum of money on coast communication, which was already secured by sea, when access to the interior was still unprovided for; and the manner in which the work has been carried out. On the question of policy there must, of course, be differences of opinion. The general view in British North Borneo and amongst business men in Singapore and Hong Kong—a view

with which I find myself in complete accord — is that the money spent on the railway could have been infinitely better employed, having regard to the real interests of the country, in making good roads into the interior from the chief towns, in purchasing launches for river service and coast communications, in the encouragement of immigration, and in the establishment of new industries, objects on which money has indeed been spent, but in entirely inadequate amount. The oft-quoted instance of the railways in the Federated Malay States is not applicable to British North Borneo; for in the Peninsula roads came first, then population, then trade, and then the need of railways. And the railway policy was not adopted until the working of minerals had yielded such an enormous revenue that the railways could be constructed, not only without the aid of borrowed money, but actually from current Treasury surpluses.

But, if there are two opinions about the policy of constructing the West Coast Railway, there is but one opinion throughout Borneo in regard to the manner in which that policy has been carried out. I did not go over the whole line, for, although the section from Jesselton to Beaufort was taken over from the contractors as a working line in the middle of 1902, parts of it had already been washed away or otherwise rendered useless before the end of the year; but of the twenty or thirty miles over which I did travel, I can safely say, with some experience of out-of-the-way railways in the tropics,

that a more outrageous piece of work never passed under my notice. Engineers may find the proper technical terms for what I saw, but it was, in fact, this, — that the line was full of unnecessary curves ; that where rock was available in abundance for ballasting, earth and jungle rubbish had been used ; that where everything pointed to the need of culverts, unbroken earthen embankments were waiting for certain destruction by the floods of the northeast monsoon ; that every third sleeper, instead of holding up the track, hung loosely suspended from the rails ; that heavy timbers across rivers had been so carelessly laid that it had become necessary to hammer in chips of wood beneath them in order to secure the support of the piers. Yet I am told that the line was built by a great firm of English contractors, aided by the advice of a distinguished and highly-fee consulting engineer, that the work had to be done to the satisfaction of the Company's engineer in Borneo, and that it was, in fact, actually passed by him. It is difficult to understand how a railway which bends out of shape when the sun shines and slides down hill when it rains ever came to be taken over as a completed railway. Expert independent opinion has been obtained on the railway, and the verdict is that it will cost at least £10,000 even to put the line in such order that a train may be safely run from one end to the other, and that to make it in any sense a real working line an expenditure of £100,000 will be necessary. If, as many people believe, the railway was useless and

unnecessary in the present general condition of Borneo, and was intended merely for what the Chinese call "look-see," it should at least have been well enough built to deceive a non-expert observer.

One cannot help feeling that thus far the management of British North Borneo has been a failure, and that this has been due, not to defects of local administration, but to an utterly mistaken policy on the part of the Directors, a policy which has been wrong, whether the motive behind it has been the genuine development of the country or merely its decking forth as an attractive object for sale.

A word, in conclusion, about the future of the country. As I have said before, the land itself is magnificent. For tobacco, india-rubber, gutta-percha, and timber the soil is unsurpassed, and there may be valuable mineral deposits similar to those of neighboring Sarawak. If the Company will seriously face the situation, there is no possible doubt that for British North Borneo there is a brilliant future, and for the shareholders a splendid reward on their investment. In its Civil Service the Company is singularly fortunate. It was a great surprise to me to find that, with the very small salaries paid to its servants, the Company had been able to secure a class of men of such excellent quality as are the majority of the local officials — capable, hard-working men, young, eager, and thoroughly interested in their duties. But this is not enough where

the general policy is bad, and certain things are absolutely necessary if failure is to be turned into success. The idea that the British Government would ever take over the country at a price satisfactory to the shareholders, unless real financial independence had been achieved, should be definitely abandoned, and attention should be turned to the single object of advancing the development of the country. The hope of dividends should be set aside for some years at least; the revenue should be cut down to the lowest figure which would suffice for the expense of administration and the payment of interest on loans; the capital of the Company should be increased and a large sum devoted to the construction of roads, the purchase of small steamers, the encouragement of immigration, and the fostering of new industries; grants of land should no longer be made without adequate guarantee that cultivation is to follow within reasonable time, but with such guarantees grants should be made generously.

Finally, the Directors should be content to leave the method of development entirely in the hands of the Governor. They have got a man exactly suited to the task, a man who has seen the making of the Federated Malay States at close range as one of the makers, and whose training has been fortified by constant association with Sir Frank Swettenham, the ablest administrator who has been in the British Far East since the days of Sir Stamford Raffles. Five years of work on lines such

as Mr. Birch¹ would lay down, five years unhampered by the cry for dividends, should serve to place British North Borneo amongst the most successful of British settlements in the tropics; but the result can only be achieved by a constant unity of purpose and a complete and unwavering confidence in the man to whom the task is intrusted.

¹ See note on page 38.

CHAPTER IV

SARAWAK

I HAD occasion some years ago to write for the "Atlantic Monthly"¹ an article on "European Experience with Tropical Colonies." At its conclusion are to be found the following lines from Froude, quoted in support of the argument in favor of personal rule in the tropics. "Find a Raja Brooke [of Sarawak] if you can. . . . Send him out with no more instructions than the Knight of La Mancha gave Sancho—to fear God and do his duty. . . . The leading of the wise few, the willing obedience of the many, is the beginning and end of all right action. Secure this and you secure everything. Fail to secure it, and, be your liberties as wide as you can make them, no success is possible." For the past two months² I have been in Sarawak, traveling up and down the coast and into the interior, and working in Kuching, the capital. At the end of it I find myself unable to express the high opinion I have formed of the administration of the country without a fear that I shall lay myself open to the charge of exaggeration. With such knowledge of administrative

¹ *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1898

² This was written in January, 1903

systems in the tropics as may be gained by actual observation in almost every part of the British Empire except the African Colonies, I can say that in no country which I have ever visited are there to be observed so many signs of a wise and generous rule, such abundant indications of good government, as are to be seen on every hand in Sarawak.

The present Raja, or King, of Sarawak, is an Englishman, Sir Charles Johnson Brooke, G.C.M.G., head of an old county family, and a descendant, through the female line, of the Stuarts. The story of how he has come to occupy the position of absolute monarch over a territory as large as England, situated in the out-of-the-way island of Borneo, and peopled by Dyaks, Malays, and Chinese, reads like the wildest fiction rather than sober historical fact.

In the years following the restoration of Java to the Dutch the Malay Archipelago fell into a most disturbed condition. Dutch authority was severely shaken, England was unwilling to assume any further responsibilities in the Far East, and the historical Dutch policy of fomenting the internal dissensions of the native governments, in order to weaken the general opposition to white rule, bore abundant fruit. Into this part of the world came, in the thirties, James Brooke, a young military officer of the East India Company, who had retired from the service after distinguishing himself in the Burmese War of 1824, and who had been rendered independent by inheriting a large fortune from his

father in 1835. Inspired by a strong spirit of adventure, Brooke determined, after carefully studying the general condition of the Malay Archipelago, to devote his energies to the amelioration of the life of the native Borneans. His original intention was to secure his footing by means of trade, and then to work on the minds of the native rulers. The ambition of wealth he never had for a moment, and, indeed, he subsequently spent the whole of his large private fortune on his reform schemes in Sarawak.

Writing of the objects he had at heart Brooke said: "It is a grand experiment, which, if it succeeds, will bestow a blessing on these poor people; and their children's children shall bless me. If it please God to permit me to give a stamp to this country which shall last after I am no more, I shall have lived a life which emperors might envy. If by dedicating myself to the task I am able to introduce better customs and settled laws, and to raise the feeling of the people so that their rights can never in future be wantonly infringed, I shall indeed be content and happy." But on his arrival in Borneo he found a condition of affairs which, while rendering his original plan of action impossible, led to the solution of the difficulties along another line, and to the fulfillment of his hopes.

At the time of Brooke's arrival in Borneo the territory of Sarawak was under the rule of Omar Ali, the Malay Sultan of Brunei, but its affairs were actually administered by the Sultan's uncle,

man's work in the tropics. A young Englishman goes out to the Malay Archipelago, and visits a country which ninety-nine men out of a hundred would have avoided, on account of its disturbed condition. He interferes in what may be regarded as a domestic brawl, and, contrary to the universal experience of mankind, both parties to the dispute are satisfied in a few months to see handed over to him as a gift the very country which each, at the time of his entrance upon the scene, was striving to secure for itself. The origin of the Brooke rule in Sarawak is, however, the least remarkable element in the story. That which arrests the attention of the student and sustains his interest in the affairs of the little kingdom is the unbelievable success which has attended the policy of the first Raja Brooke and of his successor, the present Raja. The difficulties to be overcome at the outset, before any kind of permanent order could be brought out of the prevailing chaos, were apparently insurmountable, and might well have discouraged the staunchest and most persevering of men. For generations the Dyak and the Malay had been enemies. To the Mohammedan Malay the Dyak appeared merely as a barbarous infidel, whose country was the just spoil of the faithful. His religion, since it was not Mohammedanism, was false, his political organization was beneath contempt; his language simply a crude *patois*, with no written expression; his social customs were abominable, it was clearly, from the Malay standpoint, a race to be used as long as it

would submit, to be exterminated as soon as it resisted.

The Dyaks, on the other hand, regarded the Malays as their tyrants and oppressors, the people who had come over the sea to rob them of their country, to destroy their customs, to grind their faces with exorbitant taxes, which they often had the power to collect, whatever may have been their right to impose them. On either side there was a long record of murder and outrage. Until these opposing factions were reconciled and brought into a common and voluntary submission to the Government, nothing could be done to advance the prosperity of the country or to lay the foundations of a permanent system of administration. By what exercise of tact, firmness, and wisdom this delicate task was accomplished by the first Raja Brooke may be gathered from the fact that within a few years of his accession to the throne the Malays and Dyaks were living peaceably side by side all over the country, and that from that day to this there has never been anything in the nature of a serious rupture between the two races.

For an ordinary man, placed in the position in which Raja Brooke found himself after the pacification of Sarawak, there would have existed a powerful temptation to stop short at providing the country with a moderately good Government, whilst deriving from its administration a fair return on the investment of his time and talents. The temptation to embark on such a policy would have

been the greater from the obvious facility with which it could have been carried out. The Government which had been displaced was so utterly bad that any change whatever must have appealed to the people as an improvement; and, by introducing a wise system of taxation, the revenue of the country could have been doubled, whilst creating, by the removal of harsh and objectionable methods of collection, a popular impression that it had been halved. To Raja Brooke these considerations, so far as we can judge by his actions, never presented themselves. From the very commencement he devoted himself completely to the task of providing Sarawak with the best possible Government that could be devised, and to equalizing the incidence of taxation. So far was he carried by his sense of responsibility to the people thus strangely fallen under his rule, that he sacrificed his entire private fortune in paying the expenses of administration and in setting the country on the fair road to prosperity.

The first Raja Brooke reigned for twenty-six years (1842-1868), and was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Charles Johnson Brooke, G.C.M.G., who still occupies the throne.

It became clear as soon as the new King took over the reins of Government that he intended to adopt as his model the liberal and enlightened policy of the late Raja. As early as 1870 the present Raja published in the "Sarawak Gazette" his views as to the method of government best suited to the

needs of his people. This early pronouncement of policy was drawn forth by a rumor which had reached the Raja's ear that certain persons regarded with disfavor his intention of presiding as Chief Justice at the sittings of the Supreme Court. It is true that in the condition of civilization with which we are familiar the idea of a King or President fulfilling judicial functions is repugnant to the public sense of the true attributes of a judiciary. But the conditions in Borneo are absolutely different; and the Oriental mind is quite familiar with the idea of the highest judicial and executive functions being combined in one person, is familiar in fact with no other system. The Raja expressed himself as follows on the point—and it may well be noted that the liberal view he advances as to the relation between the superior and the inferior races is one which we have persuaded ourselves, through a perverted application of history, to be the monopoly of those peoples who live under republican institutions. "Our chief success," he says, "has been owing to the good feeling existing between ruler and people, brought about by there being no impediments between them; and the non-success of European Governments generally in dealing with Asiatics is caused by the want of sympathy and knowledge between the ruler and the ruled, the reason being the distance and unapproachableness of the leader. If I am to exclude myself from court I must necessarily withdraw myself from hearing the complaints, either serious or petty, of my

people, who would then be justified in drawing an unsatisfactory and unhappy comparison between myself and my uncle, who was *de facto* the slave of his people, and left the country under my charge expecting me to carry out his policy."

The organization of the Government of Sarawak is simple in the extreme. At the head of everything is the Raja, a monarch more completely autocratic than any other in the world, since for him the two great restraining forces of absolute monarchy—the existence of turbulent anti-dynastic factions and the very strong influence which is always exerted by a powerful hereditary nobility—do not exist. The Government, then, is purely despotic in form. But it is a despotism which has shown itself, up to the present time, to be of the most benevolent kind, inspired by motives of the most sincere unselfishness, and guided ever by an earnest desire to advance the true interests of the people, even when the pursuance of such aims has involved, as has very frequently been the case, great sacrifices on the part of the ruler.

I cannot better exhibit the general character of the policy which guides the administration of Sarawak than by quoting a short passage from the "Sarawak Gazette" of September 2, 1871. The policy therein laid down by the present Raja has been faithfully followed for thirty years, and the results have more than justified it.

The common mistake Europeans make in the East is to exalt Western civilization almost to the exclusion of

the native system, instead of using them as mutually corrective.

There are two ways in which a Government can act. The first is to start from things as it finds them, putting its veto on what is dangerous or unjust, and supporting what is fair and equitable in the usages of the natives, and letting system and legislation wait upon occasion. When new wants are felt it examines and provides for them by measures rather made on the spot than imported from abroad, and to insure that these shall not be contrary to native customs, the consent of the people is gained for them before they are put in force.

Progress in this way is usually slow, and the system is not altogether popular from our point of view, but it is both quiet and steady; confidence is increased, and no vision of a foreign yoke to be laid heavily on their shoulders, when the opportunity offers, is present to the native mind.

The other plan is to make here and there a clean sweep and to introduce something that Europeans like better in the gap. A criminal code of the latest type, polished and revised by the wise men at home, or a system of taxation and police introduced bodily from the West is imposed, with a full assurance of its intrinsic excellence, but with too little thought of how far it is likely to suit the circumstances it has to meet.

The form of administration has grown up with the country, and is such as the experience of half a century has shown to be suited to the local conditions. There are two State Councils — the General Council and the Supreme Council. The former consists of the Raja, and of the following Government servants, native and European, who are all

members *ex officio* : the Divisional Residents, the Residents of the Second Class, the Commandant of the Forces, the Treasurer, the Principal Medical Officer, the Datus,¹ and all native chiefs holding office under the Government. This body meets once in three years, unless especially summoned for specific reasons. Its functions are of a purely advisory or consultative nature, and the Council was, in fact, instituted for the purpose of keeping the Raja informed of the general condition of public opinion in the country districts and out-stations, and of advising him in regard to any important changes which it might be proposed to make in the general policy of administration. On the occasions of these triennial meetings the Raja makes what is practically a Speech from the Throne, in which the condition of the country is reviewed ; and the leading members of the Council also speak.

The General Council serves its purpose admirably, since it keeps all the members of the Administration in touch with the Raja and with one another ; and it contributes greatly to that state of good feeling between natives and Europeans which is the fundamental characteristic of the Sarawak State. It is, however, the Supreme Council which really administers the affairs of the country. This

¹ There are four Datus — the Datu Bandar, or Senior Chief, the Datu Muda, or Junior Chief, the Datu Hakim, or Chief Mohammedan Magistrate, and the Datu Emaum, who is the head for the time being of the Mohammedan religion in Sarawak

Council consists of the Raja, the Resident of the First Division, and the four Datus. It is provided that the European members must never outnumber the native members. The General Council meets once a month, and all proposed laws are laid before it, as well as such administrative matters as are not purely of a routine nature. In order to endow this brief description of a unique legislature with some degree of reality, I print here the official report of a meeting of the Sarawak Supreme Council, which was held just before my arrival in the country.

SUPREME COUNCIL

Present,

His Highness the Raja, G C M G

The Resident of the First Division (the Honorable C A Bampfylde)

The Datu Bandar (Haji Bua Hassan)

The Datu Muda (Abang Mohamad Kassim)

The Datu Hakim (Haji Mohamad Ali)

The Datu Emaum (Haji Amin)

A meeting of the Council was convened this day His Highness the Raja informed the Members he had what he considered an important matter to lay before them in reference to the future supply of timber for building purposes. At present large quantities of different kinds of woods were being felled immediately in the vicinity of the principal town for export, and a trade had sprung up which threatened to despoil the forests of all the best and most useful woods necessary to the inhabitants of a growing town. At this end of the State, where so much wood is now being worked for export, the country is comparatively narrow, being only a few miles in depth to the

boundary with Netherlands territory, and in this narrow strip of land large quantities of valuable timber have also been destroyed by generations of Dyak farming. What there is left should be preserved as far as possible for local use, for were these woods, even the commonest of them, once worked out, the inhabitants of this town and the neighborhood would be put to the greatest inconvenience.

His Highness now proposed that all woods in the forests lying between Tanjong Datu and the right bank of the Sadong River shall be preserved for the use of the inhabitants, and that after six months from the present date the exportation of timber from any part within the above mentioned limits shall be prohibited.

This was carried unanimously.

No other matters were brought forward.

F. H. DALLAS,

Acting Clerk of Supreme Council.

For administrative purposes Sarawak is split up into divisions under the charge of Residents. These officers are assisted by one or more Englishmen and by a small staff of natives. The duties of the Resident are manifold. He must see to the collection of the revenue, to the administration of justice, to public works, and so on; and, above all, he must be at all times accessible to the people. The Dyaks have the strongest objection to doing the smallest thing without first indulging in long and tedious palavers. The discussion about the business itself may occupy, perhaps, ten minutes, but it must be preceded by an almost interminable interchange of polite nothings. These interviews, however, are a most important element in the administrative system,

for it is no exaggeration to say that the average Dyak had rather submit, after due palaver had and obtained, to some important measure of which he himself disapproved, than acquiesce in the most trivial matter of obvious utility without being afforded a chance of talking with the Government officer for hours about the monsoon, or the best shape for a boat's prow, or the proper color to be worn if a certain relative (presently in robust health) should chance to die.

The chief characteristic of the administrative methods of Sarawak is the emphasis laid by the Raja on the necessity of maintaining the closest personal relations between the rulers and the ruled, and the subordination to this end of mere clerical work.

Thus it happens that although the student finds in Sarawak a very small amount of official literature, yet he observes that each official is intimately conversant with all the affairs of his district, can tell you the history of almost every family, knows everybody by sight and nearly everybody by name, and is prepared at a moment's notice to talk to one about the approaching marriage of a daughter, to another about the prospect of a successful gutta expedition into the interior.

All officials in Sarawak are chosen personally by the Raja on the occasions of his visits to England; and it is curious to note that, with two exceptions (a Scotchman and a Frenchman), every man in the service is an Englishman. There is a further fact

worthy of record that, whether it be to the advantage of the country or not, the population of Sarawak does not include a Jew or a lawyer.

That Sarawak has prospered greatly under its present ruler is shown by the following figures:

	1870	1903
Value of foreign imports	\$1,328,963	\$5,959,720
Value of foreign exports	1,494,241	7,512,440

A certain proportion of the increase*disclosed in the above figures is apparent rather than real, and is due to the fall in the value of the silver dollar; but even allowing for that, the foreign trade of Sarawak has more than trebled during the past thirty years.

The principal articles of export in 1903 were: Gold, \$1,784,600; pepper, \$2,733,301; gutta and india-rubber, \$761,000, and sago-flour, \$766,463; which together represented three quarters of the total value of exports.

In the import trade rice is by far the most important item, being represented in 1903 by a value of \$1,041,065, or nearly one fifth of the total value of imports. Other items were, cloth of various kinds, \$746,104; tobacco, \$256,000; opium, \$284,000; kerosene oil, \$172,725; and sugar, \$134,643

The future prosperity of Sarawak appears to be well assured. Valuable gold deposits exist, and these are being worked by the Borneo Company, Limited, which, if it has wasted twenty years in finding out the value of its properties in Sarawak,

is now making up for lost time by introducing the most modern mining machinery and by employing a competent staff of scientific men to carry out its plans. As far as agriculture is concerned the pepper and sago of Sarawak command the highest price in the open market ; and the demand for these commodities is constantly increasing. It is important to realize, in this connection, that nearly all the labor of the country is performed by Chinese immigrants, the native Dyak and Malay population being quite useless for industrial purposes, from strong disinclination to steady work of any kind.

The impression of the country which I carry away with me is that of a land full of contentment and prosperity, a land in which neither the native nor the white man has pushed his views of life to their logical conclusion, but where each has been willing to yield to the other something of his extreme conviction. There has been here a tacit understanding on both sides that those qualities which alone can insure the *permanence* of good government in the State are to be found in the white man and not in the native ; and the final control remains, therefore, in European hands, although every opportunity is taken of consulting the natives and of benefiting by their intimate knowledge of the country and of the people.

Nothing could better serve to exhibit at once the strength and the weakness of a despotic form of government than the present condition of Sarawak, for if it be true that the wisdom, tolerance, and

sympathy of the present Raja have moulded the country to the extraordinary state of tranquil prosperity which it now enjoys, the power of an unwise or wicked ruler to throw the country back into a condition of barbarism must be admitted as a necessary corollary. The advent of such a ruler is, however, in the highest degree improbable. The succession is guaranteed by the British Government; and the Raja Muda, Charles Vyner Brooke, has been educated with the fact of his eventual inheritance of the throne constantly in view. The future rulers of Sarawak will no doubt be as carefully trained, and if the wise custom which has hitherto prevailed, of assigning to the Heir Apparent responsible administrative duties in the country districts, is continued, there is no reason to doubt that the Brooke rule in Sarawak will confer in the future as it has done in the past the greatest benefits upon the country and its inhabitants.

CHAPTER V

BURMA

THERE is no portion of the British Empire, East or West, which possesses greater attractions for the lover of romance than the Indian Province of Burma. The country which inspired Mr. Kipling's "Mandalay" and Mr. Fielding's "Soul of a People" needs no word of mine to emphasize a fascination which, unlike the appeal of other lands, increases with familiarity and grows deeper day by day as the borrowed impression of the printed page gives way to the delighted observation of the traveler.

The Burmese administrative system as it exists to-day is the product of a constant adjustment of the machinery of Government to the peculiar needs of a country whose geographical situation has created an embarrassing confusion of diverse conditions and conflicting interests. Although the area of Burma is only 239,000 square miles, it has a length, almost due north and south, of twelve hundred miles. The southern portion of the country lies on the seaboard of the Bay of Bengal, in only ten degrees of north latitude, and the northern portion is far inland, above the Tropic of Cancer. The climate is further affected by the

great variation in the surface conditions of the land. A few figures will serve to show the remarkable climatic conditions of the country. The corrected returns for 1900 show that, in a territory smaller than the State of Texas, one town, Tavoy, registered a rainfall of two hundred and thirty-five inches, and another, Mandalay, only twenty-five inches, the figures being normal in each instance. The temperature returns are scarcely less interesting. In December, 1900, Kyaukse in Upper Burma experienced a heat of ninety-seven degrees Fahrenheit, while at Bhamo, only two hundred miles to the north, a temperature of forty-nine degrees was recorded. In Bhamo itself the temperature during December, 1900, ranged between eighty-two degrees and forty-nine degrees Fahrenheit.

The population has responded to the great diversity of environment, and to the manifold variety of manners and customs attributable to this cause the geographical situation of the country has contributed an amazing complexity of racial types. Burma has land frontiers with Bengal, Manipur, Assam, Yunnan, the Chinese Shan States, French Indo-China, the Siamese Tai States, and Siam proper, and the interior of the country is cut up by a network of mountain ranges into innumerable isolated districts. These conditions have produced an abnormal multiplication of tribes, sub-tribes, and clans, so that more than one third of the population of the administrative area of Burma is non-Burmese.

The distribution of indigenous races in Burma at the Census of 1901 was as follows :

Burmese	6,508,682	Tailings	321,898
Shans ..	787,087	Chins	.	179,192
Karens	717,859	Taungthus		168,301
Arakanese	405,143	Kachins		64,405

The returns show fifteen other indigenous races.

Some idea of the difficulties involved in administering the affairs of Burma may be formed from the fact that the Kachins, the least numerous of the non-Burmese indigenous races, are divided into five tribes and sixty-two sub-tribes, each with its own manners and customs, and each depending on the Government to watch its peculiar interests.

The absorption of Burma by the British Indian Empire occupied sixty years. It commenced with the war of 1824, which was brought about by frontier troubles between Bengal and the Burmese district of Arakan. The next step was the war of 1852, which arose out of the refusal of the Burmese King to make reparation for repeated outrages on British subjects. By these two wars the territory now known as Lower Burma passed under British rule.

After a peace of thirty years' duration, England and Burma found themselves at war again in 1885. The immediate cause of this war was a quarrel between the King of Burma and the Bombay-Burma Trading Company in regard to a heavy fine imposed on the corporation for alleged frauds in

timber-exporting — a charge the truth of which the Company has always denied. The Indian Government sided with the Company, being satisfied that the fine was, in fact, nothing but an attempt to levy blackmail. Arbitration was suggested from Calcutta and rejected at Mandalay, and finally war broke out. But the real causes lay beneath the surface. Through the gross cruelty and misgovernment of King Thibaw the central authority had lost control of the remote provinces, and a chronic condition of disorder on the frontier of British India threatened the peace of that country. Repeated attempts were made to open friendly diplomatic relations with the Burmese Court, but these overtures were met in a hostile spirit; and at last, when the Indian Government discovered that King Thibaw was conducting secret intrigues with the French, the treatment of the Bombay-Burma Trading Company was used as a convenient occasion for bringing matters to a head. The war commenced in November, 1885, and lasted less than a month; and on January 1, 1886, Upper Burma was added to the British Indian Empire. King Thibaw and his two Queens, Supayagyi and her sister Supayalat, were exiled to Ratnagiri Fort in the Bombay Presidency, and an end was made of a rule which had been little but one long record of treachery and bloodshed. It is not without a sigh of regret that the student of Burmese history closes the book with the conviction strong upon him that of all the cruel and bloodthirsty intriguers who combined to

produce the downfall of the Kingdom of Ava, the most wicked, the most relentless, the most cruel, was the fair Supayalat.

The task which confronted the new Administration was one of extraordinary difficulty, and the story of how all obstacles were overcome and the country brought to a state of tranquil prosperity possesses an added interest from the fact that the conditions to be met bore a striking resemblance to those which the United States was called upon to face in the Philippines after the fall of Manila. Seven years of Thibaw's rule had plunged the country into a state of inconceivable disorder. The Government officials had lost the respect and confidence of the people; the country was overrun by armed bands of dacoits; agriculture was at a standstill; native industries were fast disappearing before a growing sense of insecurity of life and property; a dozen chiefs in various parts of the country were striving to set up independent governments; and the King, who had not once quitted the palace grounds in the seven years of his reign, had neither the desire nor the power to restore order.

Such was the condition of affairs when the British took over the country. A definite policy of pacification was immediately inaugurated, the central idea of which was to secure absolute control of the more readily accessible parts of the country, to occupy a central zone in which civil administration could be securely established and recuperative measures commenced under the most

favorable conditions, and, with this zone as a nucleus, to work outwards as occasion offered. Instead of dispatching numerous disconnected columns out into the hills in search of armed bands, the military force was, for the time being, concentrated around the administrative centre; and later, when the established security of the pacified zone justified an extension of military operations, the principle was adopted that no place should be occupied unless it could be permanently held and provided with open communications with the main territory. The tactical basis of this policy was that no attempt should be made to enforce submission to the new Government in any district until the authorities were prepared to afford the natives perfect security against reprisals on the part of the irreconcilables.

Instead of immediately providing Burma with a Lieutenant-Governor, a Legislative Council, and the administrative machinery which the size of the country and its commercial importance would have justified on grounds of equity, the Indian Government very wisely left the pacification of the country and the earlier stages of its development to a Chief Commissioner and a competent staff of subordinates. The effect of this was to endow the local Government with a quality of flexibility which, in the unsettled state of affairs, was of far greater importance than mere mechanical precision, and to admit of action being taken immediately on a thousand matters which, under the more formal

régime of a Provincial Government, would have awaited reference to Calcutta and possibly to London. It was not until 1897 that the Chief Commissionership of Burma was raised to a Lieutenant-Governorship, an act which placed the Province in all essentials on a level with the Provinces of India proper.

Except in one important particular — the financial status of the country — the Government of Burma is similar in form to that of a Crown Colony. Measures passed by the local legislature are subject to the review of the Central Government in India and finally to the approval of the Secretary of State for India; and no work involving the expenditure of any considerable sum of money may be undertaken without the express permission of the home authorities being first obtained.

The most interesting feature of the administrative system of Burma is the use made by the Government of native headmen as tax collectors and petty magistrates. In 1901 there were in the whole of Burma no less than 18,505 of these native officials. The regulation under which the headmen are employed simply establishes a modernized form of the village system which, in Burma as in India proper, has been the basis of the indigenous administration from time immemorial.

The village systems of Upper and Lower Burma differ in some respects, and the following description refers to the system now in force in Upper Burma. The guiding principle of the village system

is that, in addition to the personal responsibility under the law of each citizen for his own acts, there exists a collective responsibility of a village in regard to certain specified matters — in brief, the individual is the legal unit, the village the administrative unit, recognized by the Government. The more serious responsibilities of the villages relate to three offenses — harboring criminals or failing to take reasonable measures to prevent their escape, the suppression of evidence in criminal cases, and cattle theft; and in regard to these offenses a fine may be imposed on any or on all of the inhabitants of a village. The action of the Government in fixing a collective responsibility in these matters has the force of ancient custom. The regulation in regard to cattle theft may be taken as an example. It is known as the Track Law, and rests on a usage established by the Institutes of Manu (500 B. C.), a body of law adopted by the Burmans at least as early as the fourteenth century of our era. The principle of the Track Law is that if the track of stolen cattle can be traced into the limits of any village, the inhabitants must carry the track on beyond the village boundary, or produce the cattle, or make good the loss. Although this has been the law in Burma for centuries, it is only since the British occupation that it has been rigidly enforced. The effectiveness of the law is much greater than might be supposed by any one unfamiliar with Upper Burma. The whole country is divided into villages — the word being used to describe not merely a collection of

houses but also all the adjacent land used by the inhabitants—and where one village ends another begins. The country is thus split up into clearly defined areas of responsibility, and wherever stolen cattle may happen to be at any moment, they must be within one of these areas. Each village is interested in carrying the tracks on beyond its boundary, and it is seldom that a cattle thief succeeds in avoiding capture. The law operates in a similar way in regard to fugitive criminals; and the only condition precedent to the successful working of the law is that accurate surveys of the country should establish the village boundaries.

Important as the village system is as an aid to the operation of the Criminal Law, its chief value lies in the administrative work performed through its agency. In each village the Government appoints a headman, whose official title is *ywathugyi*. The duties of the headman are too numerous even to be enumerated here. As the eye of the Government the headman must keep the nearest white magistrate informed in regard to the commission of any serious crime in his village, of the presence of notorious receivers or vendors of stolen goods, of the passage through his village of any person whom he knows or reasonably suspects to be a dacoit, robber, escaped convict, or proclaimed offender, of the likelihood of a failure of the crops, of an unusual rainfall, of the appearance of epidemics, and so on. As the hand of the Government the headman must search for and arrest persons

suspected of criminal offenses, resist unlawful attacks made upon his village, keep open his communications with adjacent posts, furnish guides, supplies of food, means of transportation for police, troops, or Government servants passing through his village (all of which must be paid for at fixed rates by the person making the requisition), furnish labor at a fair rate of pay for making and repairing roads or for other public works; act as Revenue Collector, Registrar of births and deaths and other vital statistics, prevent or extinguish fires, and enforce the sanitary regulations laid down by the Government. All headmen are vested with authority to try any person accused of assault, petty theft, and other minor offenses, and some are especially empowered to hear small civil suits. In addition to the duties outlined above, a headman is expected to perform a thousand small offices either for the Government or for the people of his own village.

Although the pay of a headman is very small, the position is eagerly sought after by the better class of natives, for here, as elsewhere in the Orient, it is considered a great distinction to hold an appointment under the Government. Apart, however, from the pay, and from those intangible advantages which appertain to official rank, certain substantial benefits fall to the lot of a headman and his family. For instance, the sons or male heirs of village headmen may claim free education in all Government or Municipal schools, the Government undertakes

to provide for the family of any headman who loses his life in the performance of his duties; and a headman is entitled to hold as much as twenty-five acres of land free of any revenue charges. For the guidance of headmen the Government issues the most elaborate instructions in regard to the proper steps to be taken in various contingencies. The following extracts from the "Rules for the Defense of Villages" afford an interesting illustration:

Rule 1. Every able-bodied male inhabitant of a village shall provide himself with (a) a spear, or bamboo six feet long, pointed at one end as a spear, (b) ten billets of heavy wood each one cubit long and two and one half inches in diameter, (c) five torches made of rag soaked in kerosene oil and fastened to sticks pointed at one end, so as to allow the torch being fixed easily in the ground

Rule 6 Those parties detailed to watch the entrances to the village shall, if the dacoits ¹ have not already entered the village, endeavor to prevent their ingress to the utmost by hurling billets of wood at their heads and showing a determined front to the dacoits, holding their spears at the charge till the ywathugyi with his body of fighting men arrives on the scene

Rule 9 The ywathugyi should cheer his men on to the attack and should keep beating his gong to let every one know where he is

Rule 13 Old men and women should be ready with pots of water to put out fires should one break out in the village during an attack by dacoits, no one is to run away

¹ A dacoit is a gang-robber. Dacoity in Burma, which is now of very rare occurrence, corresponds to the ladronism of the Philippines, as the word is now understood in Manila.

Rule 14. All villagers to be told that in case they are captured by a gang of dacoits and the villagers come to the rescue, they must throw themselves flat on the ground to avoid being hit by missiles flung at the dacoits

It will be readily understood that a system of this kind possesses many advantages in a country where the members of the dominant race belong to two classes only — Government servants and business men.

The number of white men in the Government service is kept down, the natives secure a fair share of patronage, and the Government enjoys the confidence of all classes. Thus, although the final control rests always in the hands of a white man, the native is governed in all ordinary matters by one of his own race, and the appearance of foreign domination is avoided. The excellent state of feeling which exists between the rulers and the ruled in Burma is due in no small degree to the fact that the Government yields to its most humble native official the same courtesy and respect which it exacts on his behalf from those under his authority.

The Civil Service of Burma is part of the general Civil Service of India, and is recruited under the English rules. It has been conceded generally by Imperial observers that the Indian Civil Service represents as fine a class of men as are to be found in the whole British Empire, and that in no service is there a higher standard of efficiency, a more unselfish devotion to duty, or a more complete freedom

from the reproach of official corruption. The great defect in the Indian Civil Service, from the standpoint of recent criticism, is that the officials are falling out of touch with the people because the insatiable appetite of the secretariats for statistical returns chains the administrators to their desks when they should be out in their districts. I am inclined to the opinion that those who blame the Indian Government for its increasing rigidity, for its gradual sacrifice of individual contact in the interests of mechanical precision, overlook an important element in the situation.

The declared policy of the Indian Government is to educate the natives, to make them think for themselves, to induce the people at large to take an interest in the moral and material progress of their country, to change, in fact, the Oriental disposition in its two most rigid characteristics — the hatred of change, and the abhorrence of civil or political responsibility. Now, whether this be a wise or a foolish policy, it is quite clear that the individuality of the people cannot be developed if the Government is to retain that paternal character which it inherited from the Company.

Under the old system the Government did the governing, and the people, having been used to the arrangement for thousands of years, were content that it should be so. To-day the world is full of the idea of government for the people, by the people, and we have done our best to fill the Indian bazaars with the motto. But paternalism

and democracy cannot march side by side. Under the former dispensation it is a virtue that the administrator should exert his personal influence to secure the aims of the Government; under the latter the exertion of such influence may easily become a vice.

If it is felt that the successful administration of Indian affairs must rest in the future (as it has in the past) on the individual character and influence of the British officials, the first thing to be done is to abandon the idea of an India governed by the popular voice; and the reestablishment of the personal relations between the people and their rulers will follow as a natural result. But if democratic ideals are to be followed, if the cry is to be "India for the Indians," it is vain to regret the days when a man could go into a district and fashion it after his mind. If the governing is to be done by the people themselves, the best kind of Government official is the precise, accurate, and honest office machine. You may have in an Oriental country strong individuality in the Government; it is barely conceivable that you may produce strong individuality in the people; but you cannot have both in the same place at the same time.

No one who has had occasion to study the principles and practice of Indian administration can have failed to observe that in regard to almost every question, whether of policy or method, which has come before the Indian Government, the most conflicting views are held by those most competent

to form a judgment. Frontier policy, taxation, the employment of natives in the higher branches of the Civil Service, famine relief, plague prevention, municipal government, education — in fact, all matters which affect the welfare of the Indian peoples have been so thoroughly discussed by the most able men in India, European and native, that it has become impossible for an outsider to express any opinion on Indian affairs which shall not appear to a considerable number of thoughtful people to be ignorant, hasty, or prejudiced.

The general conditions of Burma and the isolated position of the Province in relation to the rest of India combine to render somewhat less difficult than would be the case in regard to the Peninsula the task of dealing in a short chapter with some of the more interesting aspects of local administration ; and as Burmese affairs are generally approached by Indian writers from the standpoint of Indian interests, the provincial point of view may be adopted with advantage in the present essay. Although Burma enjoys some substantial advantages from her political and administrative subordination to India, it is impossible for the impartial observer to satisfy himself that the price paid is not excessive, or, indeed, that the whole connection is not anomalous. It is true that the three Burmese wars of 1824, 1852, and 1885, which added Burma to the British Empire, were undertaken in conformity with our general Indian policy and were directed from Calcutta ; but the same may be said of the operations

which led to the conquest of Ceylon and to the formation of the Straits Settlements; and these two possessions are now independent Crown Colonies, although the former was once attached to the Presidency of Madras, and the latter was actually until 1867 a Presidency of India, taking rank with Madras and Bombay.

That Burma should have remained under the Indian Government, notwithstanding the precedent afforded by the treatment of the Straits Settlements and Ceylon, is probably due to the fortuitous circumstance that the conquest of Burma was followed by a long period of military operations before the final pacification of the country was achieved. The effect of this was that the civil administration grew up side by side with a military occupation which could be more conveniently directed from Calcutta than from London; and by the time the Civil Government was firmly established throughout the Province, Burma had come to be regarded as part of India. Beyond the obvious interest of India in controlling the finances of the largest and richest Province of the Indian Empire, there exists no good reason why Burma should not be a Crown Colony.

To deal first with the natural conditions which seem to justify the desire, almost universally expressed in the Province, for separation from India. Every argument which has been rightly advanced for the welding together of the States of the Indian Peninsula under one central Government carries

with it an application *per contra* for the exclusion of Burma from such a union. In the Peninsula the problem in its broadest terms has been that of uniting under one general rule a dense population distributed over an immense area and richly endowed with every attribute which makes for political and social disintegration. In no part of the world have differences of race and religion, operating throughout the span of human history, produced a complexity of interests, a rivalry of ambitions, an intensity of caste prejudice at all comparable with those which exist in India. It is an open question whether our rule has done anything towards modifying this class antagonism; but it is certain that the evils which were formerly attached to this state of things have been in a great measure checked, and that this result has been achieved very largely through the policy of centralization which has placed in the hands of the Viceroy and his advisers the power of directing the internal affairs of India as a whole.

But to keep Burma attached to this school of States is to misunderstand the position which the country occupies in relation to its neighbors, to ignore the social and religious conditions of the Province, to add unnecessarily to the administrative burden of the Central Government, and to make the transaction profitable only by inflicting an obvious injustice on the people whose interests are supposed to be well served by the political tie. Socially, religiously, and politically Burma is the

exact opposite of the Indian Peninsula. Of the inhabitants of the Province nearly ninety per cent. belong to one religion (Buddhism), nearly eighty per cent. speak one language (Burmese), and since the time of Alung Payá (1755) the country has been governed by one central authority. There is nothing, therefore, in the internal conditions of Burma which demands a political connection with India; and as a mere matter of administration it is probable that Burmese interests have suffered to a considerable extent from the fact that administrative measures have been "passed upon" in Calcutta by officials having no knowledge of the Burmese or of their country.

It may be suggested that Burma would lose rather than gain by having its affairs regulated from London instead of from Calcutta. But it is the very proximity of India to Burma which gives the Indian official a false idea that he has a local knowledge which makes him peculiarly fit to deal with Burmese problems. Residence in India, however, implies no special familiarity with Burma; and the difference between the Government of India and the Colonial Office as the controlling authority of Burma would be in this, that the former, from over-confidence in its opinions, is ready to interfere with Burmese administration, whereas the latter, conscious of its own lack of local knowledge, would be prepared to accept the advice of the Burmese Government in regard to proposed measures. If the matter be approached

from the standpoint of external relations, it becomes clear that, so far from the Indian connection being a benefit to Burma, it is a distinct disadvantage, since it takes the Province out of its proper political and geographical setting and attaches it artificially to India. Burma is separated from India by the most formidable natural barriers, and, although land communication is possible with Bengal and Assam, the sea and not the land is, and must always remain, the highway between the Province and the Peninsula.

As a matter of fact Burma belongs to the China-Malay group of States and not in any way to the Indian system, and the future of the Province lies in its relations with China, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula rather than in the growth of its intercourse with India. The history of the past twenty years shows how greatly British interests in the western borders of the Far East have suffered through the treatment of Burma as a province of India. The encroachments of France in Siam and in Southwestern China, which represent the outcome of a policy as perfectly justifiable from the French standpoint as a policy of opposition would have been from that of England, have been carried to a successful issue only because the Indian Government has allowed itself to forget, in its preoccupation about trans-Indus affairs, that a strong trans-Salween policy was called for by Imperial interests in no degree less important than those of the Indian Northwest.

What concerns the Province of Burma, however, more than the political effect of her subordination to India is the serious drain on her resources which is involved in the payment of a great part of her annual public revenue into the Calcutta Treasury. Twenty years ago this matter was hotly debated in Burma, and the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce passed the following resolutions: "That the Chamber shall convey to the Local Government an expression of its deep dissatisfaction with the manner in which the revenue of the Province of British Burma is appropriated. The Chamber is of opinion that a much larger proportion of the revenue should be spent in the Province." (Meeting of July 29, 1884.) It appears from a letter which was addressed at this time by the Chamber to the Chief Commissioner, and from memoranda on Public Works expenditure drawn up by Sir Charles Crosthwaite and by Sir Charles Bernard, when, in turn, they occupied the post of Chief Commissioner, that Public Works in Burma were in a very backward and unsatisfactory condition, owing to the inability of the Provincial Government to devote a sufficient portion of the public revenue to the carrying out of much-needed works; that only one district (Tharrawaddy) in the whole of British Burma was fairly provided with roads, that at least one district (Arakan) was practically without roads; that Burma paid a far heavier tax per head of her population than any other Province of the Indian Empire; and that she yielded to the Impe-

rial Treasury a larger surplus per head of her population than any other Province. The attention of the Government of India was drawn to these complaints, and a long and able reply was written by Sir David Barbour. A careful perusal of his letters leaves one with the impression that he made a very clever defense of a very poor case. His arguments were calculated to show that something had, after all, been done for Burma, rather than to explain why more had not been done ; and his references to the question of how far the public revenue of Burma should be used for the general purposes of the Government of India afforded no ground for a hope that a greater proportion would be devoted in future to the needs of the Province.

The Burmese war of 1885-86 diverted public attention from these grievances ; and as a considerable proportion of the cost of the campaign fell on the Government of India, the agitation in favor of local expenditure of local revenue lost much of its strength. A further reason for the disappearance during some years from the field of local politics of the question of the Indian payments was that the annexation of Upper Burma fulfilled hopes which had been long entertained by the mercantile community of Lower Burma, with the result that public sentiment generally was more hopeful as to the future of the Province. But in recent years the matter has been taken up again. When I visited Burma in 1903, I found that a strong feeling existed in official as well as in unofficial circles that

the Province was being unfairly treated in its financial relations with India, and that in separation from the Indian Empire lay the only hope of a proper development of the extraordinary resources of the country.

If anything were needed to increase the public dissatisfaction with the Provincial Settlement (the term applied to the arrangement under which the finances of Burma in their relation to India are adjusted), it would be found in the method by which the Imperial share of the revenue is assessed, and in the fact that the Government of India will allow no papers to be published setting forth the grounds on which the amount of the assessment is fixed. The assessment, instead of following the natural line of an appropriation of a stated proportion of the total public revenue of Burma, is based upon a division of the revenue under each separate item into Imperial and Provincial percentages. Thus, under the Provincial Settlement covering the five years ended March 31, 1902, land revenue is one third Imperial and two thirds Provincial; salt revenue is equally divided; stamp revenue is one fourth Imperial and three fourths Provincial; and so on. Expenditure is treated in the same manner. Some classes of expenditure are met entirely from the Provincial share of the revenue; others are divided in varying proportions between Imperial and Provincial. The clumsiness of this arrangement is obvious, but it is one which falls in with the Indian system of accounting, which is probably

more complicated, and with less reason, than that of any other modern State.

The question of Burmese relations with India is, however, a much larger one than that of the mere annual payment of some millions of rupees into the Indian Treasury. That matter could be settled without difficulty by Burma's agreeing to pay to India, in the event of separation, a military contribution similar to that paid by the Straits Settlements and other colonies to England; and this could be fixed at a figure which would cover all actual expenses incurred on Burma's account by the Indian military establishment. To any person who has not had occasion to go over the ground, a suggestion that Burma should be made a Crown Colony creates a picture of the disruption of the Indian Empire, and lays the person making it open to the charge that he regards Burmese affairs from the local instead of from the Imperial point of view. If I were not convinced that British Imperial interests would be better served by the severance of Burma from India than by the continuance of the present tie, I should be the first person to find in the Imperial advantage of the connection a sufficient reason for the patient endurance by the inhabitants of Burma of whatever evils the furtherance of a great cause should impose on them. The fact is, however, not only that the interests of the Indian Empire are in no way bound up in a political connection with Burma, but that the interests of the British Empire in the Far East have suffered greatly

in the past, and are likely to suffer still more in the future, from the linking of Burma with India instead of with the Malay Peninsula, to which Burma belongs historically and geographically. If Burma were to pass under the control of the Colonial Office, the position of England in the Far East would be greatly strengthened. The British sphere of influence in the territories lying between India and China embraces the whole of Burma and the Malay Peninsula, and British administration is to-day continuous from the Kachin country on the Chino-Tibetan frontier down to Singapore, with the exception of a few small Native States between the most southerly point of Burma and the most northerly point of Perak. Every interest of these countries demands that their affairs should be directed in conformity with some definite and coherent policy, but as the responsibility is divided between the India Office and the Colonial Office, there has been weakness and confusion where there should have been unity and strength. A united Malayan Empire, comprising Burma, the Federated Malay States, and the Straits Settlements, controlled by one department of the Home Government and treated as the physical base of our Far Eastern policy, would carry with it advantages which it would be impossible to over-estimate. It would further the development of Burma and it would relieve the Government of India of a good deal of administrative work; but its most important effect on British Imperial interests would be the unification and

strengthening of our policy in regard to Siam and China, by the creation of a powerful British federation along the line which divides Eastern from Far Eastern politics.

CHAPTER VI

THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES

It is an interesting illustration of the peculiar political character of that mass of States known as the British Empire that in the three Protectorates which have fallen under my observation, of which the Federated Malay States is the third, the relations between the sovereign and the subordinate power differ as widely as it is possible for political relations to differ if the thread of a political connection is to remain unbroken.

Sarawak is a British Protectorate ; and in the internal affairs of Sarawak the British Government has absolutely no voice whatever. Except in regard to its foreign relations that State is as independent of the British Government as the Argentine Republic is of that of Russia.

British North Borneo is a British Protectorate ; yet the only points of internal administration in regard to which the British Government exercises any control are that the Governor of the territory must be appointed with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that laws relating to the management of the natives are subject to the approval of the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Finally, the Federated Malay States are a British Protectorate, and here not an officer above the rank of a junior clerk is appointed, not a law is passed, not a penny raised by taxation or expended in the public service, except with the consent of the British Colonial Secretary in Downing Street.

The origin of British rule in the Malay States is an interesting study, because it represents territorial acquisition (or a degree of control which in fact amounts to that) under circumstances which have always seemed to practical men of action to justify the event, but which to the arm-chair traveler, to the long-distance philanthropist, have always afforded, and still afford, material for painful sermons on the inherent wickedness of all strong nations and the inherent goodness and rightmindedness of all weak native races.

It is a conflict of theories which can never be reconciled, because one side argues from conditions as they are and always have been, the other from conditions as they ought to be and never have been—in a word, from the opposite standpoints of observation and speculation.

The Federated Malay States consist of the Sultanates of Perak, Selangor, the Negri Sembilan, and Pahang, and they form, together with the protected State of Johore, the *Hinterland* of the Straits Settlements. Their present importance lies in the fact that they furnish the world with more than two thirds of its total tin supply. As a general indication of the rank into which they fall as part of the

British Empire it may be mentioned that their annual revenue is equal to that of Ceylon, exceeds that of Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements added together, and is nearly double that of the whole of our West African Colonies. The Straits Settlements were acquired piecemeal between 1786 and 1824, and remained under the Government of India until 1867, when they were constituted a Crown Colony. Before the term of the first Governor sent out by the Colonial Office expired it became clear that in order to put an end to the piracy which had made the Straits of Malacca notorious amongst seamen, and to protect the Settlements from those evils which are invariably attached to a condition of anarchy and misrule in a neighbor's territory, some form of interference in the affairs of the native States would have to be resorted to. In 1873 Sir Andrew Clarke was appointed Governor of the Straits Settlements; and he carried out with him instructions to inquire into the state of affairs in the Malay Peninsula and to report thereon to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. On his arrival in Singapore, however, he had to face a situation which called for immediate action. Trade was at a standstill, open piracy brought him a daily record of peaceful merchants murdered within sight of the Settlements, in the native States the faction fights of the Chinese miners had reached a climax in an attack upon a police station in British territory, and public opinion was unanimous in its demand for some decisive step which would relieve

the Colony from the imminent peril of the disturbances in the Peninsula spreading to the Chinese in the Settlements.

With a true instinct of statesmanship Sir Andrew Clarke perceived that any course of action which confined itself to the mere punishment of the pirates and the pacification of the Chinese miners by a demonstration of force, but which stopped short of some substantial guarantee of future security, would involve all the difficulties and would yield none of the advantages which might be expected to follow a settlement of a permanent nature. Whilst taking all needful measures for the safety of the Colony and for the capture of the pirates, he formulated a plan, in complete defiance of such instructions as he had received, and proceeded to carry it into immediate execution. Instead of the report which the Colonial Office was expecting, he forwarded a treaty with the Sultan of Perak which inaugurated a new policy in the Peninsula. By the Treaty of Pangkor (January 20, 1874) Sir Andrew Clarke deposed one Sultan and placed another on the throne; he provided for the appointment of a British Resident at the Court of Perak and of an Assistant Resident at Larut in the mining district; and by the tenth article—which runs, “The collection and the control of all revenue and the general administration of the country to be regulated under the advice of these Residents”—he assumed entire direction of the Government of Perak. These proceedings received the approval

of the Colonial Office ; and by the end of 1874 the Residential System had so far progressed that, in addition to a Resident and an Assistant Resident of Perak, there had been appointed, by agreement with the native rulers, a Resident and an Assistant Resident in Selangor and an Assistant Resident in Sungei Ujong (which now forms part of the Negri Sembilan). But in the following year Mr. Birch, the Resident of Perak, was murdered, under the authority of the Sultan and with the connivance of most of the Perak chiefs, and a punitive expedition was sent into the country. The Colonial Office immediately executed a complete *volte-face*, and Sir Drummond Jervois, who had succeeded Sir Andrew Clarke, was severely censured for having undertaken a grave departure from the declared policy of Her Majesty's Government. But the Governor's dispatches written in defense of his conduct show that, as a matter of fact, he had advanced in no important particular beyond the position which had been assumed by Sir Andrew Clarke with the final approval of the Imperial authorities.

The Colonial Office would listen to no excuse ; and under the pretext of bringing the Governor back within the lines of his predecessor's policy, new instructions were issued which entirely discredited the work of Sir Andrew Clarke and put the relations between the Colony and the native States for all practical purposes exactly where they had been before that gentleman first undertook their adjustment. These instructions were explicit.

The government of Perak by British officers, in the name of the Sultan, was forbidden; the duties of the Residents were limited to "the giving of influential and responsible advice;" and the Resident of Perak was warned that "the Residents have been placed in the native States as advisers, not as rulers, and if they take upon themselves to disregard this principle they will most assuredly be held responsible if trouble springs out of their neglect of it." If these instructions had been strictly adhered to in practice, the Residents would have found themselves in a position in which, whilst achieving nothing towards the accomplishment of those administrative reforms which it was the principal object of the British Government to secure, they would have been called upon to suffer the indignity of the constant and open failure of their efforts in that direction. For even if the Sultans had been sincerely desirous of setting their States in order and of establishing an administrative system based on scientific principles, the peculiar character of the social structure rendered the task an impossible one if the instruments for its performance were to be sought amongst the Malays themselves.

Malay society was divided into two classes, one containing all those who could claim to have Royal blood in their veins, the other containing everybody else. One class monopolized all offices under the State and absorbed everything in the nature of public revenue — the term being understood to include whatever sums any one of the Royal blood

could extort upon any pretext and by what means soever from the commonalty, even to the employment of torture. The members of this class recognized no responsibilities except to those of their own rank; the official glance was blind to everything beneath the level of its eyes. To the other class was given the monopoly of labor and of payment of taxes, the former always an unpaid service when performed for the State or its officers, the latter knowing as its only limitation the paying capacity of the person taxed. The native rulers had the right of compelling all female children to pass through the Royal harem; and by force of custom, and from the utter defenselessness of one class in face of the other, the desire of the petty chiefs was law throughout the Peninsula for the women folk of the common people. Behind all this was the system of debt-slavery under which not only a debtor, but his wife and children to their most remote descendants, were condemned to hopeless bondage. In these circumstances it was clearly to be seen that whilst on the one hand the nobles, through whose agency alone a single reform could be introduced under a system of mere advice, might be expected to offer a solid opposition to any change which would curtail their privileges, on the other hand, no help or support could be looked for from the mass of people in whose interest the reforms were to be effected.

Although the States on the western side of the Peninsula enjoyed under their native rulers a some-

what better government than that under which those on the eastern side suffered, yet the following description of the administration of Pahang, written in 1888 by Mr. J. P. Rodger, C.M.G., at that time Resident of Pahang,¹ serves as a graphic description of what the native States were before the appointment of British Residents :

A system of taxation under which every necessary as well as every luxury of life was heavily taxed, law courts in which the procedure was the merest mockery of justice, the decisions depending solely on the relative wealth or influence of the litigants, and where the punishments were utterly barbarous, a system of debt-slavery under which not only the debtor but his wife and their most remote descendants were condemned to hopeless bondage; an unlimited *corvée*, or forced labor for indefinite periods and entirely without remuneration, the right of the Raja to compel all female children to pass through his harem — such are some of the more striking examples, although the list is by no means exhaustive, of administrative misrule in a State within less than twenty-four hours of Singapore. The condition of the Pahang ryot may be briefly expressed by stating that he had practically no rights, whether of person or property, not merely in his relations with the Raja, but even in those with his immediate District Chief.

With that fuller knowledge of the conditions in the native States which followed the appointment of the Residents, a perfectly clear issue arose for the consideration of the British Government.

¹ Sir J P Rodger (K C M G , 1904) is now Governor of the Gold Coast Colony in West Africa

Having discovered that the mere presence of an advising agent at the native Courts would be completely ineffective in so far as any substantial reforms were concerned, or for the achievement of those ends which the Sultans had in view when they asked for the appointment of British Residents, two possible courses of action presented themselves.

The British Government might have withdrawn its Residents, on the ground that they were performing no work of permanent usefulness, and might have accompanied this action by a warning to the native rulers that if they did not, on their own initiative, relieve the Straits Settlements of the dangers incident to disorder in the Peninsula, the British Government would step in with its own forces, put an end to the unsatisfactory conditions, and exact such guarantees for the future as might appear necessary.

The alternative was to extend gradually the powers of the Residents, to increase the European staff, and, while interfering as little as possible with the social customs of the people, and not at all with their religious affairs, to secure step by step the complete control of the Administration.

Of these two policies the British Government wisely adopted the latter. It has been carried out with infinite skill and tact, and with results, as will be shown later, which place the work done by the British in the Malay Peninsula on a level with the finest achievements of a race which has had

a greater and wider success than any other in the field of colonial administration.

The work of reducing the Malay States to some kind of order, of establishing a proper judicial system, and of initiating a policy which should open up the country and afford that protection to life and property which capital demands as a condition precedent to its employment on a large scale, was carried out principally under the advice and guidance of Sir Hugh Low, who was Resident of Perak from 1877 to 1889. But already in these years the man whose brilliant abilities and dominating personality were destined to carry the Malay States to the high level of prosperity and good government which they enjoy to-day was exerting a marked influence on the Administration. One of the earlier appointments in the Peninsula had been that of Mr. (now Sir) Frank Swettenham to the Assistant Residency of Selangor. His rise in the service to Resident of Selangor in 1882, to Resident of Perak in 1889, to Resident-General in 1896, to Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States in 1901, covers the whole period of the successful accomplishment of those social and administrative changes which have placed the Malay States on a footing of equality with the best governed portions of the world. By the year 1884 slavery had been abolished throughout British Malaya; in 1888 Pahang, the largest State in the Federation, accepted a British Resident; in 1895 the small States

forming the Negri Sembilan were placed under one native ruler, and in the following year the four States — Perak, Selangor, the Negri Sembilan, and Pahang — were combined in a Federation for the purpose of mutual assistance, continuity of policy, and uniformity of administrative methods. In these proceedings Sir Frank Swettenham played the most important part. His perfect command of the Malay language, his unrivaled knowledge of the Malay character, and his rare talent for moulding men and measures to his purpose fitted him in the highest degree for the delicate task of reconciling conflicting interests and soothing petty jealousies, and enabled him, whilst avoiding the appearance of giving undue support to any of the actors in the drama of dangerous rivalries in which he found himself playing the leading rôle, to gain by means of unimportant concessions everything which was really essential to the success of his plans.

I regret that considerations of space forbid me to enlarge upon the work of the Residents; for, whatever may have been the benefits which have resulted from the masterly handling of questions of policy and principle by Sir Frank Swettenham, no success could have been achieved unless he had been backed up by the silent, ungrudging, persistent toil of those into whose hands he committed the execution of his plans. It is this kind of work, which goes on steadily year after year, receiving no support from public applause and very little as

a rule from official approval, that really deserves our highest praise and sympathy

The position of the Federated Malay States is rendered peculiar from two circumstances — one that the greater part of the world's tin supply is drawn from these States, the other that the native Malay population absolutely refuses to perform manual labor under any conditions whatever.

In 1901, out of a total export trade valued at \$71,350,000, tin represented \$61,689,000, or more than eighty-six per cent. of the whole.

The total revenue of the States in the same year amounted to \$20,550,000. If from this sum we deduct such items as railway, postal, and telegraph receipts, fines and fees of court, reimbursements, interest on State bank balances, land sales, and fees of office, we get down to a revenue from taxation proper of \$16,500,000. Of this sum, tin, produced entirely by Chinese miners, paid as export duty \$8,439,000; and the opium, spirit, and gambling licenses realized \$3,726,000, of which sum fully ninety-five per cent. was eventually paid by the Chinese miners.

So we find in the Federated Malay States this extraordinary condition of affairs, that out of a total revenue from taxation of \$16,500,000, raised in a Malay country, \$12,000,000, or nearly seventy-four per cent., is secured from the industry of Chinese immigrants and from their vices.

As far as my own observation extends, I should say that the Malay of the Peninsula is the most

steadfast loafer on the face of the earth. His characteristics in this respect have been recognized by every one who has come in contact with him. He will work neither for himself, for the Government, nor for private employers. He builds himself a house of bamboo and attaps, plants enough rice to fill out the menu which stream and forest afford him, and for nine tenths of his waking hours, year in and year out, he sits on a wooden bench in the shade and watches the Chinaman and the Tamil build roads and railways, work the mines, cultivate the soil, raise cattle, and pay the taxes. As all his desires are completely satisfied by this kind of life, you can make no appeal to him for industry.

The Resident-General, in his annual report for 1901, says: "The Government, with a system of taxation which barely touches the Malay, raises a large revenue and incurs a large expenditure in developing the resources of the country by means of roads, railways, irrigation works, and so forth. But the labor force engaged in their execution is supplied almost entirely by foreign coolies under the superintendence of foreign engineers and superintendents. The Malay, with his rooted disinclination to steady work of any kind, will neither give his work to the Government undertakings, nor to mines or plantations. It is difficult even to induce him to serve as a policeman. With the advantage of a splendid climate the natives might grow rice and rear stock for the ready market

provided by the Chinese miners; but this they have failed to do, and a large part of the fishing industry even is in the hands of the Chinese. Domestic servants, washermen, messengers, gardeners, and grooms are foreigners."

What a picture of a people! Too lazy to be policemen — too lazy to fish!

The Federated Malay States have not been exempt from the operation of that economic law which decrees that when in any country which contains economic supplies of which the world stands in need, and the working of which will afford a reasonable profit to capital, the natives refuse to work, a flow of immigration will set in composed of persons of alien races who are willing, for a fair wage, to bring to the aid of Nature the industry of man.

Taking the figures of the Census of 1901, and omitting from our calculation the State of Pahang (the economic development of which has only just commenced), we find that the three remaining States of the Federation had a population of 570,454 exclusive of floating population and prisoners, and that of this total 61 per cent. were foreign immigrants, chiefly Chinese, and only 39 per cent. were Malays.

The lesson contained in these figures is too obvious to require comment.

In like circumstances, a Government will always be faced with the labor problem, and it admits of only three solutions. If the natives refuse to work, as they have refused in all times in every tropical

country the development of which has been undertaken by Europeans or Americans, the first alternative is to abandon the country and thus rob the world of that economic contribution which it has a right to expect from every territory which Nature has endowed with economic resources; the next is to adopt the method which made Java the most flourishing of all tropical colonies, that is to say, force the natives to work by prescribing a certain number of days of labor in the year for each native and visiting a default with severe penalties; and the final alternative is to leave the native alone and bring in outsiders who will do the work.¹

Passing now to the system of administration in the Federated Malay States, we find conditions not differing greatly from those which exist in a British Crown Colony. Each State is governed by a State Council composed of the Sultan, the British Resident, the Secretary to the Resident, a number of Malay chiefs, and one or more prominent Chinamen to represent the interests of the Chinese community.

As the members of the Council hold their seats by appointment and not by election, and as no law is submitted to the Council for enactment until it has been approved by the High Commissioner (a position which attaches to that of Governor of the Straits Settlements) and by the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, it is evident that there is

¹ The labor problem in the Malay Peninsula is discussed at some length in the next chapter.

here no greater independence of legislation than is enjoyed in a Crown Colony.¹

The existence of the Resident-General and the Federal officers is an advantage which the Crown Colonies do not possess. The Federal Establishment consists of a Resident-General, a Federal Secretary, a Judicial Commissioner, a Legal Adviser, a Commandant of the Military Forces, a Commissioner of Lands and Mines, a Director of Public Works, a Commissioner of Police, a General Manager of Railways, a Secretary for Chinese Affairs, an Inspector of Prisons, an Inspector of Schools, and a Government Pathologist.

The Resident-General is really an Executive Council of One, and he is also the official adviser to the High Commissioner. Most of the other members of the Federal Staff, in addition to the performance of their specific duties in connection with strictly Federal work, act as advisers in their several departments to the officers in the service of the separate States.

Not the least important result of the appointment of the Federal Staff has been the gradual introduction of that uniformity of administrative methods and that continuity of policy without which Federation would have failed of half its usefulness.

At the present time the administrative force of the Federated Malay States is recruited under the

¹ For a description of Crown Colony Government, see Chapter II, pp 18-24

cadet system, the examination, which is identical with that for the Indian Civil Service, being held in London each year. But in the early days a Civil Service had to be created in block ; and I may say, with no disparagement of the cadets, who after a few years' training, make excellent officials, that no one could visit the States to-day without being struck by the remarkably high character of that section of the Civil Service which was recruited by selection before the introduction of the cadet system. In no part of the world with which I am familiar have I seen men more devoted to their work, more closely identified with the success of the administration, or more keenly interested in everything which relates to the progress and development of the States in whose service they are laboring.

And what has British rule achieved for the Malay States? It has given the native security of life and property ; it has abolished slavery and the exaction of unpaid labor ; it has established permanent land titles ; it has provided free education and free hospital treatment and medicine for all ; it has exterminated piracy ; it has put an end to the recurrent scourges of smallpox and cholera , it has constructed over a thousand miles of metaled road ; it has built *out of current revenue* three hundred miles of railway¹ which carried nearly four million

¹ The sum expended on the construction and equipment of the Federated Malay States Railways up to and including 1902 was about \$23,000,000 (silver)

passengers in 1902, and earned in ten years a net revenue of over seven million dollars; it has, perhaps unwisely, left the native practically untaxed; it has afforded ample opportunity to the Malay of entering the Government service and of acquiring wealth by the exercise of ordinary industry; it has raised the revenue of the States from \$400,000 in 1875 to \$22,500,000 in 1902; it has in the same time increased the foreign trade of the States from \$1,500,000 to \$127,000,000, it has kept the peace and maintained the law.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

THE last day of the sixteenth century saw the incorporation of the English East India Company, and two years later its great Dutch rival was established. For the next two hundred years the history of Southeastern Asia is filled with the incidents of a great struggle between the Dutch and the English for the mastery of the Malay seas ; and it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the withdrawal of England from Java and Sumatra and the cession of Malacca by Holland laid down the definite principle of British supremacy in the Peninsula and Dutch supremacy in the Archipelago.

The past century has produced no material change in the relative positions of the two Powers, and each has occupied itself with the peaceful development of its own territory. Not the least interesting feature of the results which have been obtained is the spectacle which is afforded of brilliant success attending two policies diametrically opposed to each other in every detail of principle and application.

As the Dutch work in Java will be the subject of separate treatment, it is sufficient to point out

at present that the keynote of the Dutch policy was monopoly and exclusion, that of the English policy free trade and free immigration, and that while the former has given Holland one of the finest agricultural colonies in the world, the latter has added to the British Empire one of its greatest trade depots.

The Straits Settlements consist of the Islands of Penang and Singapore, Province Wellesley, the territory of Malacca, and a few small islands, and they lie on the eastern shore of the Straits of Malacca, the great highway for all ships seeking the Far East by an easterly course. The strategic importance of the Colony will be recognized at once by any one glancing at a map of the world. It is seen that the Indian Ocean is divided from the China Sea and the Pacific by the Malay Peninsula, and by that garland of isles which swings from Sumatra to Port Darwin in northern Australia.

If, coming from the west, you wish to reach any port above the equator and beyond the one hundredth degree of east longitude, you must pass through the Straits of Malacca or take a thousand-mile detour to make the passage of the Straits of Sunda, which separate Sumatra from Java.

Some idea of the magnitude of the stream of commerce which flows through the ports of the Straits Settlements may be gathered from the fact that there entered and cleared in the Colony during 1902 more than fifty thousand vessels, of a total burden of seventeen millions of tons.

Within a thousand-mile radius of Singapore, the capital of the Straits Settlements, lie the whole of the Malay Peninsula, Siam, the southern provinces of French Indo-China, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, Celebes, and the lesser islands of the Archipelago. For this immense area Singapore is the trade centre; and the importance of this commerce may be gauged by the fact that the value of the imports and exports of the Colony reached in 1902 a sum of £62,000,000, an amount greatly in excess of the total value of imports into the whole of our American and West Indian colonies, including Canada, in the same year.

The administrative system of the Straits Settlements presents nothing of distinctive interest to the student of political science. It is a Crown Colony government of the ordinary type, and as such its chief claim to notice is that in the thirty-five years of its subordination to the Colonial Office it has escaped the gubernatorial inflictions with which some of our Colonies — Barbados, Trinidad, Mauritius, and Hong Kong, for example — have been visited from time to time. But what the system itself lacks in point of special interest may be found in a consideration of some of the administrative problems with which the local Government has been confronted.

The question of currency reform and labor supply have presented elements of peculiar difficulty, and a discussion of them falls naturally into place in the present volume, since the former constitutes a serious factor in the financial policy of

every colony having a detached monetary system, and the latter represents the most vital economic problem common to all tropical and sub-tropical countries, whether they are politically dependent or independent.

The fall in the rate of exchange of silver as compared with gold, a phenomenon due to causes entirely beyond the control or prevision of the Straits Government, has reduced the gold value of the local silver dollar from about 3s. 9d. in 1882 to 1s. 7d. in 1902. This downward movement of exchange has been continuous over a number of years, but it has been subject to violent fluctuations from day to day; and in discussing the general effects of a declining and unstable currency emphasis must be laid on the fact that the different economic interests of the Colony have been very differently affected according to whether the controlling factor for any particular interest has been the absolute decline in the value of the dollar or the fluctuation in its value from day to day, the latter condition operating within the sphere of the falling gold value of silver, and with such force that a loss due to the general movement of silver over a considerable period might, under certain conditions, be counteracted by successful speculation on the daily rate of exchange. For instance, the banks have benefited greatly from the element of daily fluctuation, and the merchants have suffered greatly from the same cause, because the former with their special facilities of information have been

able to speculate more successfully on the rise and fall of the dollar than the latter, and for the reason that from the magnitude of their capital they have been better able than the merchants to accept risks and to sustain losses. In the mutual relations between the banks and the merchants two important factors give the former a great advantage in all transactions based on a fluctuating currency — one is that, the rate of exchange being much more sensitive than the price of merchandise, those who deal in money alone carry their risks for a shorter period and can effect adjustments much more frequently than those who deal in merchandise as well; and the other is that in exchange operations, the necessities of the merchants being always more urgent than the necessities of the banks, the latter are in a better position than the former to resist, within certain limits, a rising market when they are purchasing and a falling market when they are selling.

It is more difficult to trace the precise effect on the mercantile interests of the Colony of the simple decline in the gold value of the local dollar, considered apart from the question of daily fluctuation. The mercantile community of the Straits Settlements may be divided into two classes, one containing the great wholesale houses, which conduct both an export and an import business; the other containing the retailers, chiefly Chinese, who may be regarded as the agents for the purchase and sale of that portion of the imports which is

retained for home consumption and of that portion of local products which is not required for export. The division is imperfect because the two classes are not mutually exclusive, and for other reasons, but it is accurate enough to serve as the basis of some general considerations. The trade returns of the Colony for 1902 show that the import trade was evenly divided between gold-standard and silver-standard countries — \$156,379,000 from the former and \$154,731,000 from the latter — but that the value of exports to gold countries was nearly three times as great as that of exports to silver countries — \$210,000,000 to the former and only \$72,000,000 to the latter. Under these circumstances it may be assumed that as the wholesale traders of the Colony paid out on a gold basis \$155,000,000 for their imports, and received \$210,000,000 on a gold basis in return for their exports, the fall in the dollar, in so far as it had a direct effect on the transit trade, yielded to the merchants a profit on the larger sum as against a loss on the smaller; in other words, the falling dollar has injured the merchant as an importer from, and has benefited him as an exporter to, gold countries. Turning now to the retail traders, it seems probable that they have gained more from the fluctuation in the dollar than they have lost from the fall in its value. In regard to most commodities, except such as have a well-known and customary price, the dealers have generally been able to raise the retail price, in sympathy with a rise in the

wholesale price, and they have always done so when they have found it possible, whereas they have never lowered their prices until competition has compelled them to do so.

To sum up the situation as affecting the mercantile interests of the Colony, it may be said that the only undoubted gainers from a fluctuating dollar have been the bankers, and in a very small way the retail dealers; that whatever advantages the merchants may have been able in special instances to secure from this cause have been more than offset by the uncertainty which it has introduced into all commercial transactions, by the growth of speculative business, and by the discouragement which the risks of a fluctuating currency offer to the investment of capital, and that in the great majority of cases the fluctuation in the dollar has made it more difficult and more expensive for the merchants to finance their operations. On the other hand, part of what the merchants have gained as exporters to gold countries, from the fall of the dollar, they have lost as importers from gold countries; and there is no reliable evidence that a low dollar has greatly stimulated the trade between silver countries.

If we approach the question from the standpoint of the interests of the producers and the consumers, we find that what has been a benefit to the former has been a serious source of loss to the latter. As far as the producers of the Colony are concerned (and we may properly include those of the Federated Malay States), the fall in the value

of the dollar has been a distinct temporary advantage, for nearly the whole export of local produce goes to gold countries, and in consequence the producers receive to-day more dollars for any given quantity of their produce than they would have done ten or twenty years ago if sold at the same sterling market price. The advantage has accrued, however, from several contributing causes. In regard to tin, which is by far the most important local product, one effect of the low dollar has been this, that, as the wages of the laborers have not risen as fast as the value of the dollar has declined, the dollar profits on the sale of tin have increased, and another, which has had a very important bearing on the prosperity of the tin-miners, is that, as the cost of production has been lowered, in relation to the sterling price of tin, by the relatively smaller proportion of the total receipts which has been paid out as wages, the mine-owners have been placed in a more advantageous position than formerly in regard to the competition of Cornwall and Australia. It must be noted, however, that the price of tin is fixed in Europe and America, and, whether resting for the moment on speculative operations or on the usual basis of supply and demand, is entirely independent of the rise or fall in the local dollar. It is clear that the increased production of tin which has followed the increased profits due to a falling dollar has done much to bring the supply of tin nearer to the point of demand, and that a fall in price may occur which will more than offset

in the future such advantages as have arisen in the past from the high price of tin and the low rate of exchange. The same may be said of all local produce — namely, that a temporary advantage has been reaped from the fall in the dollar, but that in the long run the uncertainty of dollar prices and the tendency to overproduction more than counterbalance the profits from this cause.

As far as the community at large is concerned, regarded as a composite whole made up of individual consumers, the fall in the dollar has been entirely a loss, and in many cases a very serious loss. The day laborer and the salaried employee have both suffered, but the hardship has been greatest for the latter class, since it includes the chief consumers of imported goods. It is no exaggeration to say that for the salaried employee, European, Chinese, or Eurasian, the cost of living has doubled during the past twenty years, and that, after long service, a large number of persons find themselves, despite the normal increases in their salaries, in a worse financial position than they were at the time they took up their work in the Colony. So great has been the distress from this cause that the better class of employers have placed some portion at least of the salaries of their servants on a sterling basis. But, notwithstanding this, the salaried employees have suffered seriously, both from the decreased purchasing power of the dollar and from the depreciated value of their savings.

The advisability of a reform in the currency of

the Colony has been discussed from time to time during the past ten years, and early in 1903 the question was investigated by a committee, of which Sir David Barbour, one of the most eminent authorities on finance, was the chairman. After collecting a great deal of evidence the committee reported in favor of the adoption of a gold standard by the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, and Johore, but refrained from making any suggestion as to the value at which the new dollar should be fixed. Steps are being taken to carry out the recommendation of the committee; and the change from a silver standard to a gold standard is being accomplished by the introduction of a new dollar, which the local Governments will undertake to maintain at a fixed ratio to the British sovereign and by the demonetization of the British and Mexican dollars now in circulation.

In face of a conflict of interests such as exists in the Colony between the banks and the merchants, the producers and the consumers, and between the trade with gold countries and the trade with silver countries, it is of course impossible to effect a serious change in the monetary system without inflicting at least a temporary loss upon some one; and the matter resolves itself, therefore, into a question of the degree of advantage or disadvantage to be anticipated from the altered conditions. Viewed in this light there is no doubt that the balance of advantage will rest with the larger interests of the Colony. The element of speculation which

hitherto has affected the trade with gold countries will be transferred to the trade with silver countries—that is to say, from the larger trade to the smaller. The advantages which the banks have reaped from fluctuations in exchange will be taken from them, and the disadvantages which fell from the same cause to the lot of the merchants will be removed. But as the capital of the banks is small when compared with the total capital invested in the businesses of the merchants, it is again the larger interest which will be benefited.

Finally, the general interests of the Colony as represented by the Government and the Municipalities will be well served by the introduction of the gold standard, on the one hand, because these bodies have heavy gold obligations to discharge for salaries of officials and the payment of pensions, and, on the other hand, because the large Government and municipal loans which it may be necessary to raise from time to time can be floated on a gold basis at a low rate of interest without the fear, which would always exist under a silver standard, that a fall in exchange might increase the liabilities in regard to payment of interest and repayment of capital.

One of the most important Bills laid before the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements during 1903 was the Immigration Amendment Ordinance, which it is hoped will so stimulate Indian immigration as to relieve the Government and the planters from the difficulties into which they have

fallen through the scarcity of labor. Before passing to a consideration of the local aspects of the labor question it is necessary to sketch briefly the general outlines of existing labor conditions in tropical countries, since there is no subject, outside the domain of theology, which has given birth to such an enormous controversial literature as have the rights and wrongs of tropical labor. Since the abolition of slavery the constant efforts of tropical employers to secure satisfactory labor conditions have proved that, except in those countries in which there exists a pressure of population, the natives of the tropics will not lend themselves to steady labor of any kind, and that the effect of increasing wages is to reduce, and not to augment, the local labor supply. If we exclude India, Java, Barbados, Cuba, Porto Rico, and a few unimportant islands, the tropics may be described as an immense forest in which the population is so small in relation to the area and natural resources of the land that there exists no necessity for any native to work for hire. Up to the point when he wishes to gratify some acquired taste in food, drink, or clothing the tropical man is furnished by the sea, the rivers, and the jungle with everything he needs at a very small expenditure of energy — usually his wife's. If we grant for the moment that under these circumstances the tropical man has a perfect right to live a life of idleness, even if we join ourselves with that section of the British and American public which is constantly applauding his exercise of

the right, as though it were a crowning virtue in him, we cannot close our minds against the fact that the sloth and indolence of the tropical races have yielded an abundant harvest of political and economic consequences. In regard to the former it is sufficient to point out that every tropical country of any present importance is under the control of men with European or North American blood in their veins

The circumstance which instantly attracts our attention when making a survey of the tropics from the economic standpoint is that only in those countries which are colonies or dependencies of the Great Powers does there exist a condition of development bearing any appreciable relation to the resources of the land. Thus the independent States of tropical America and the kingdoms of Siam and Abyssinia — which are the only parts of the tropics which are not colonial dependencies — are practically unreclaimed spaces, slightly chipped at the edges by coffee or rubber estates or by timber concessions. An examination of the economic position of all tropical colonies reveals a fact of the highest importance in regard to the labor conditions of those countries — namely, that, with the exception of Java, Barbados, Porto Rico, Cuba, and India, where there is a pressure of population, there is not a single tropical colony of any commercial importance in which the work is not being done by imported laborers. In order to make this point quite clear I give a list of the colonies and protectorates

where the labor supply consists wholly or partially of imported Chinese or East Indians. British Guiana, Trinidad, Mauritius, Fiji, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, British North Borneo, Jamaica, Sarawak, Sumatra, the British South African Colonies and to these we may add Queensland, which gets its labor from the Pacific Islands; New Caledonia, which imports Annamites; and French Indo-China, with its Chinese labor. There remain the Colonies in Equatorial Africa, Dutch and French Guiana, New Guinea, the Philippines, and a few unimportant islands here and there, and there does not exist amongst them one of which it can be said that in relation to the capabilities of the land economic development has really commenced. The following figures illustrate the degree of economic progress which has been reached in the various countries to which reference has been made. Of the independent tropical States, Brazil exports per head of her population produce to the annual value of £1 10s.; Venezuela, £1 15s.; Guatemala, 15s., Siam, 10s.; of the colonies in which there is a pressure of population, Java exports per head of her population 10s.; Porto Rico, £1 15s.; Barbados, £4 15s.; and of the Colonies employing imported labor, Hawaii exports £26 per head; Queensland, £18, the Federated Malay States, £8 10s.; Trinidad, £8 10s.; Mauritius, £8; British Guiana, £6; and Fiji, £4 10s. The average for the seven countries not employing imported labor is £1 13s. per head;

of those employing imported labor, £11 7s. per head. I do not claim for these figures that they are more than approximately accurate; but the differences which they disclose are far too great to be materially affected by the small factor of error due to insufficient or faulty returns of trade and population. In order to emphasize the significance of these figures, it may be noted that the value of exports, which gives no trustworthy measure of the economic development of non-tropical countries, affords a fairly accurate indication of the industry of tropical races. The altered application lies in this, that in countries where the standard of living is very high the trade of the home market is infinitely greater than the export trade, whereas, in countries with a very low standard of living the conditions are reversed.

It is clear from what has gone before that, with the few exceptions named, there is not a single tropical country which possesses a local labor supply sufficient, under existing labor laws, to carry on the work of economic development; that only those countries which import labor from outside the tropics or from densely populated tropical countries have made any appreciable progress in agricultural or other industries; and that, broadly speaking, the work of the tropics is being done to-day by the Chinaman, who is a non-tropical man, and by the natives of British India, both races being driven to the task by the severe economic pressure which exists in their respective countries. Up to the pre-

sent time it has been found that where education, other than industrial or technical, has been most liberally provided, the natives do the least work, and that when wages are doubled the few local laborers adjust themselves to the new conditions by working half-time.

The census of 1901 shows that there are in the Straits Settlements more than 200,000 Chinese and more than 50,000 East Indian immigrants resident in the Colony as laborers. Little need be said of the Chinese. They flock readily to any country where work may be had at fair wages; they will submit to any sanitary regulations which the Government cares to enforce; and they are as a rule peaceful and law-abiding. All they ask is that in their leisure hours they may be allowed to gamble and smoke opium. There has probably never been a Chinese riot in any European Colony unless a fall in wages, a rise in opium, or the introduction of new gambling laws has interfered with the full enjoyment of the two Chinese recreations. The importation of natives of India into the Straits Settlements has a curious legislative history. In a Colony which has been provided with Governors of exceptional ability, and which has always enjoyed the advantage of an efficient and conscientious Civil Service, the very excellence of the general administration throws into sharp relief the unsatisfactory treatment which the labor question has received at the hands of the Government. Beginning with Ordinance 9 of 1875, there were passed

in the course of fifteen months four Immigration Acts, each repealing its predecessor. Another Bill was introduced in 1881, but did not reach a second reading, another in 1882, another in 1884, another in 1889, another in 1892, another in 1897, another in 1899, and finally there is the Bill now in operation. All this legislation has been marked not only by an entire absence of definite aim on the part of the Government, but, as far as the last three Bills are concerned, by an unaccountable failure to adopt any of the more important recommendations of the Labor Commission of 1890, which presented a report of exceptional interest and value, recommendations which were in the main supported by the Labor Commission of 1896.

The necessity for special labor legislation in the Straits Settlements has arisen from the simple cause that the local labor supply is entirely inadequate for the purposes of agriculture and for the service of the public works of the Government and of the Municipalities. The chief importers of Indian labor have been the planters, and their dissatisfaction with past conditions has rested on two grounds — first, that the supply has been insufficient, and, secondly, that under the existing labor laws they have been unjustly deprived of their laborers, who have been taken from them either by the planters of the Malay States, by the Governments of the Settlements and the States, or by the Government and Municipal contractors.

The question of initial supply is almost entirely

one of the system of recruiting and of the rate of wages offered, and it is generally admitted that the former is extremely unsatisfactory and that the latter is too low in face of the rates paid in Ceylon and Burma, both of which countries draw their labor from India. But the fact is that a supply of labor which would be amply sufficient under a proper system of regulation after arrival would prove inadequate under the conditions which have hitherto prevailed. The new law provides for a considerable increase in the minimum legal wage of contract laborers, and the business of recruiting is handed over to a commercial company in Southern India on certain fixed terms and subject to the inspection of an official of the Straits Government, who will reside in India for six months each year. It is difficult to believe that a permanent solution of the recruiting problem will be found along these lines. As long as the supply of coolies is a matter of commercial speculation it is certain that abuses will arise in the methods of recruiting; and further, when a number of employers are competing in the same market a commercial company will always take advantage of the competition thus created to advance its own interests at the expense of its clients. The probabilities are that sooner or later the Governments of the Straits Settlements and the Malay States will find it necessary to adopt the system of recruiting which is used with the most satisfactory results, by Trinidad and British Guiana. The Governments of those Colonies maintain an Emigration

Department in India under the control of an official whose duties are confined to the securing and forwarding of laborers. The Colonial Government makes all the arrangements and pays all the expenses up to the time when the laborers are handed over to the planter, and it secures itself against loss by making the repayment of immigration charges the first obligation on the planter's assets.

Most of the planters in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States have had their training in British Guiana or in Ceylon, and in consequence the conditions under which the Indian labor is imported into the Malay Peninsula resemble those prevailing in one or the other of those colonies.

In British Guiana the system is one of indenture. There is a definite contract between the planter and each coolie, and the law sees that each party fulfills its obligations towards the other. It is a system with which I am familiar from personal observation, and I have described it in detail elsewhere.¹ It has worked excellently, but against the great advantages which it affords to the planter, to the coolie, and to the Colony generally, there must be set the considerable expense involved in its maintenance. The coolie lands in British Guiana under a contract, signed before his departure from India, to labor for a fixed period, and on arrival in the Colony he is simply handed over by the Govern-

¹ *Tropical Colonization*, Chapter v.

ment to his employer. The latter is protected against the loss of his coolie's labor by a provision in the law which imposes a fine of forty-eight gold dollars on any person who attempts to engage another man's coolie, and an additional fine of two dollars a day in respect of any success which may have attended his efforts.

In the Straits Settlements the coolie is imported at the expense of the planter, under a promise that on arrival in the Colony he will enter into a labor contract. It is true that if he refuses to keep his promise he renders himself liable to fine or imprisonment, but to secure a conviction under the law requires time and expense, and at the end the planter is left without his laborer. Provision is made for the punishment of coolies who desert from an estate when under contract to remain on it, but the penalties fall entirely on the coolie and leave untouched any person who may have enticed him away. It is clear, therefore, that, whereas in British Guiana the planter incurs no expense until the coolie is actually on his estate under contract, the planter of the Straits may go to the trouble and cost of importing a coolie and may then fail to secure his labor. Moreover, under the British Guiana law the penalty for employing another man's coolie is heavy enough to operate as a complete check, whilst in the Straits no such security is afforded to the employer. It is perhaps superfluous to add that in the Straits, as in Guiana, the interests of the coolies are carefully safeguarded

by the Government, and that they are effectively protected against ill treatment at the hands of their employers.

The other system under which Indian labor is imported into the Malay Peninsula is moulded on that in force in Ceylon. Its chief characteristic is that the planter deals with a native "kangani," or recruiter and headman, and has no contract under the Immigration Ordinance with the individual coolie. A kangani is sent over to India with instructions to recruit a certain number of laborers, the planter making the necessary money advances. On his return the kangani and his gang are employed by the planter on such terms as may be arranged between them. It is a system of "free" labor as opposed to one of "contract" labor; and the protection of the coolie, instead of resting, as it does under the Immigration Ordinance, in the special inspection and control of the Government, lies in the fact that no kangani or planter can afford to be unpopular either in the Colony or on the recruiting ground when a keen competition amongst employers affords the coolie an ample latitude of choice.

As far as I could gather from conversations with employers of labor in the Colony and in the native States, a good deal of dissatisfaction still exists in regard to the local labor conditions. There seems to be a general feeling that if the Government undertook to import all the labor it needed for Public Works and ceased to compete with the

planters in the open labor market the latter would be quite content to make their own arrangements for the importation of such labor as they might require, without the concurrence of the Government.

In concluding this chapter I cannot refrain from making some reference to the controversial aspects of the labor problem in the tropics. Both in England and America there exists a considerable body of opinion which is opposed to the employment of contract labor in the tropics. The chief argument advanced is that there is no need for it, since the natives can be educated to understand the dignity of labor, or, failing that, can be taught new wants, the gratification of which will call for steady work. When it is pointed out that universal experience has proved the utter falsity of these conclusions, recourse is had to the old cry that "contract labor" is simply a polite name for "slavery." I am not concerned to deny that under a weak Government, or where there is not a conscientious Civil Service, contract labor may, by the existence of abuses, bear some resemblance to slavery; what I wish to maintain is that where there exist a strong Government, a good Immigration Law, and an efficient staff for the enforcement of its provisions, the contract laborer is more secure in the enjoyment of all his rights and privileges than he would be if he had not voluntarily entered into an agreement with an employer. Perhaps the most violent attack which has ever been made on the contract labor system was that undertaken by Sir George William Des

Vœux when he was a magistrate in British Guiana. It resulted in the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry; and if any one is interested to observe how the most explicit and detailed assault to which the system of contract labor in the tropics has been subjected ended in an utter failure to substantiate any of the serious charges laid at the door of the planters, the magistrates, and the Government officials, I commend to him the report of the Des Vœux Commission of 1870, which contains some 1600 pages of evidence on this very important subject.

CHAPTER VIII

FRENCH INDO-CHINA

At the beginning of the nineteenth century France had already been engaged for more than two hundred years in colonial enterprises.

In the Old World the genius of Dupleix and the bravery of the great Admiral Suffren had all but given her India; and in the New World that immense territory lying east of a line dropped from Hudson's Bay to the mouth of the Mississippi would have been hers if the efforts of Champlain and D'Iberville had received adequate support from Paris.

East and West, however, the story was one of grand achievement almost achieved, of a great failure which might easily have been a great success. The net result, the final outcome, of two centuries of effort was that in 1815 France possessed Martinique, Guadeloupe, Réunion, a few scattered trading-posts in India, and the little fishing settlements of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

During the first half of the nineteenth century little was done to extend the over-sea possessions of France. The Revolution, which had been preceded by a hundred years of warfare, had been followed by the Napoleonic campaigns, and the country was thoroughly exhausted.

In 1850 the colonies of France occupied an area of 200,000 square miles and held a population of less than 3,000,000.

But the passion for territorial expansion, which had remained dormant after Waterloo, was slowly reviving, and at the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian War France embarked once more upon a policy of colonial conquest.

The second half of the nineteenth century added more than four million square miles and more than fifty million inhabitants to the French Colonial Empire — an area greater than that of the United States, a population more numerous than that of Great Britain.

Of all the French colonies, Indo-China is at once the most important and the most successful. It consists of the Colony of Cochin-China and the Protectorates of Cambodia, Annam, Tonkin, and Laos; it occupies an area of 270,000 square miles and contains about 20,000,000 inhabitants. The conquest of the country occupied nearly thirty-five years, Cochin-China having been acquired in 1861, and Tonkin, which was made a French Protectorate in 1884, finally pacified in 1897.

Fifteen years ago the evil condition of French Indo-China was the favorite theme of every French writer who found himself out of sympathy with the growing colonial ambitions of France. Even those who advocated a policy of French expansion in the Far East and hoped to find in Further India some compensation for the loss of that great

empire which had been created by the genius of Duplex were forced to realize that the founding of an important Asiatic colony at the end of the nineteenth century presented difficulties differing in character but not in magnitude from those which had been encountered in earlier times.

The mere acquisition of Indo-China, notwithstanding the increased disparity between the fighting capacity of the Asiatic and of the European which has followed the application of science to modern warfare, had proved a difficult and costly undertaking. But the military problem, which affected simply the occupation of the country, had been completely thrown into the shade by the administrative problem, and the working out of the latter was to determine whether the Colony should be a source of strength or of weakness to the mother country, a profitable or an unprofitable investment from the standpoint of the general interests of France. At first there appeared to exist no reasonable ground for any hope that France was destined to be more successful in Indo-China than she had been elsewhere. Frenchmen showed no desire to emigrate to the Colony or to invest their capital in its industries. Such interest in its affairs as found expression from time to time in the French Press rested almost entirely upon political considerations; and the French people at large were too much occupied with the dazzling prospect of extending French influence in Africa to spare a moment's thought for the unexciting task of

emphasis must be laid on the fact that there is no record of any Colony whose whole character has been so completely changed in so short a time. The commercial changes, though interesting in themselves, are the least important of those which have taken place, and they may be briefly dismissed. The value of the total exterior commerce of the Colony increased from 162 millions of francs in 1893 to 400 millions in 1902. Of these sums, the share of France increased from 30 millions, or less than one fifth, to 148 millions, or more than one third. It is true that a certain proportion of these increases may be attributed to the importation from France on Government account of large quantities of material for Public Works; but, on the other hand, the exports of the Colony doubled in value in the ten years under review, and the value of the exports to France increased very nearly fourfold. In the same period the value of the coasting trade rose from 54 millions of francs to 156 millions.

But it is the administrative reforms effected since 1897 which have the chief claim on our attention, for they represent, both in regard to their operation and the manner in which they were introduced, a new and highly significant element in the colonial expansion of France.

In December, 1896, M. Paul Doumer was appointed Governor-General of Indo-China. He found the office one of comparative insignificance; he left it five years later one of the most important and active posts within the gift of the French Gov-

ernment. Shortly after his arrival in the Colony he formulated a programme of reforms, of which the principal items were :

- 1 The improvement of the financial situation of Indo-China, and the creation of a financial policy suited to the country and its needs

- 2 The pacification of Tonkin.

- 3 The organization of a Government-General

- 4 The completion and the reform of the administrations of the Protectorates

- 5 The extension of the influence of France and the development of its interests in the Far East, particularly in the countries adjoining the Colony — that is, in Siam and China

Of these matters, the organization of the Government-General was at once the most difficult and the most urgent. Before 1897 the Governor-General administered the affairs of Tonkin, but he did not govern Indo-China ; his duties were chiefly local, and he had at his command neither the staff nor the financial resources for exercising any general control over the administration of the territories forming the Colony. M. Doumer laid down the wise principle that it was the function of the Governor-General to govern the whole of Indo-China, but to administer no part of it ; and the first of his reforms was the delegation of his administrative powers in Tonkin to a Resident Superior. He was then free to turn his attention to the formation of a General Government and to the creation of a budget for its support.

The first step was to constitute a Legislative Council, and for this purpose the Superior Council of Indo-China, which had never been much more than a name, and had actually ceased to exist after the formation of the Council of the Protectorate of Tonkin, was re-created and endowed with extensive powers. It consists at the present time of the Governor-General, the Military Commander-in-Chief of Indo-China, the Commander-in-Chief of the French Naval Squadron in the Far East, the Secretary-General of Indo-China, the Lieutenant-Governor of Cochin-China, the Residents Superior of Tonkin, Annam, Cambodia, and Laos, the heads of departments of the Government-General, the President of the Colonial Council of Cochin-China, the Presidents of various Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture in the Colony, four native members, and the Chief-of-Cabinet of the Governor-General, who acts as its secretary. This body passes the general budget and the local budgets and advises the Governor-General in regard to local legislation and on such matters as he may lay before it. For the better dispatch of business there are four committees of the Superior Council. The first deals with military and naval affairs, public works, railways, commerce, and agriculture, the second with legislation and administrative organization, the third with the budgets, the fourth with other financial matters; and there is in addition a permanent commission which acts as an Executive Council.

The building up of a General Government occu-

pied the Governor-General and the Superior Council for more than two years. The general services placed under the direct authority of the Governor-General are the military and naval services, the judiciary, the departments of civil affairs (corresponding to a Ministry of the Interior), financial control, excise and customs, public works, agriculture and commerce, posts, telegraphs, and telephones, and the Cabinet of the Governor-General, which is a central department composed of four bureaux, — political, administrative, military, and secretarial. Viewed from the administrative standpoint the Government-General of Indo-China resembles in a general way the Federal Government of the Malay States, but it is more elaborate, and in the Superior Council it possesses a legislative body which does not exist at present in the Malay Peninsula.

In order to provide for the expenses of the newly-created Government a general budget was instituted in 1898. The principle on which the new budget was, so to speak, carved out of the various local budgets was this, that money raised from indirect taxes should go to the former and that the latter should depend on direct taxes.

The budgets for 1904 balance at the following figures: General budget, sixty-five millions of francs; Cochin-China, ten millions; Tonkin, ten millions; Cambodia, five millions; Annam, five millions; and Laos, two millions, — a total of ninety-seven millions of francs, roughly £3,800,000.

The most radical changes have been effected in the organization of Indo-China by the above reforms. The independence of the local Governments, which had been allowed to reach a degree at once absurd and pernicious, have been wholesomely restricted; the divided and conflicting activities of the five States have been coordinated and unified; and whilst there has been introduced in regard to those matters which concern the common interests of the Colony a centralization of control, affairs of a purely local character, which from the varying local conditions would suffer from rigid uniformity of treatment, have been left entirely in the hands of the local administrations. The full significance of this transference of powers becomes apparent when it is recalled that, whereas before 1898 each territory of the Colony controlled its own revenue and expenditure, the budgets of 1904 assign sixty-five millions of francs to the General Government and only thirty-two millions to the five subordinate Governments.

Considerations of space forbid an analysis of the important changes in the public services which have accompanied these alterations in the political structure of Indo-China; nor can more be said of the other items of M. Doumer's reform programme than that, where complete success has not yet been achieved, the path of achievement has been clearly indicated.

That the administration of justice has been improved; that a better tone prevails in the civil

services; that the nominal protectorate over Cambodia, Annam, and Laos has been converted into an efficient control; that many grave abuses have been removed; and that the reputation and prestige of the Colony have greatly advanced during the past few years, is admitted even by those to whom the drastic methods of M. Doumer have given the greatest offence.

The broad facts which stand prominently forth are that Indo-China has at last become self-supporting and that France, so far from having paid anything during the past five years towards the maintenance of the Colony, has actually received from the Colony more than forty millions of francs by way of military contribution — results which have been obtained whilst the rate of taxation has been kept within reasonable bounds.

I have said above that the events of the past decade in Indo-China represent the growth of a new and significant element in French colonization. To those familiar with the over-sea history of France the spectacle of the Governor-General of a French colony effecting radical reforms in the face of strong local opposition is as novel as it is refreshing. That the home authorities should have given a free hand to M. Doumer in Indo-China and to General Gallieni in Madagascar and that these gentlemen should have retained their posts long enough to carry out their plans must appear little less than miraculous to any one who knows how much political intrigue lies beneath the surface

of French colonial life. This mixing up of colonization and politics is the rock on which nearly every French colonial enterprise has been wrecked ; and even if it could be shown that the work of M. Doumer was worse than his worst enemy believes it to have been, it would still be an extremely healthy sign, as far as the colonial policy of France is concerned, that he should have been allowed to do it.

The most superficial student of colonial administration could easily find material for an unfavorable criticism of Indo-Chinese affairs. The tariff regulations are obnoxious, and they have greatly retarded the economic development of the country ; there are far too many Europeans in the Government service ; the lower ranks of the European staff are filled with men of inferior character and ability ; the police organization is inefficient. If I have laid no stress upon these defects and upon others equally apparent, if less serious, it is because the colonial shortcomings of the French have been so continually pilloried for the delectation of the Anglo-Saxon public that the story of reform has appeared more attractive to me, from considerations of novelty as well as of justice.

No one could visit Indo-China to-day without carrying away with him a great respect and admiration for the genius which has been displayed in beautifying the country whilst covering it with public works of the highest excellence and utility

It has been noted time and again by writers on

French colonization that the French are not a colonizing people in the sense in which we apply the term to the English.

There has never been a time in French history when colonial enterprise has been a national movement. The acquisition of Colonies has always ministered to the French love of glory and display ; there has never existed in the French character anything to which the hard, unromantic work of colonial development could make an appeal.

The student of British Imperialism can scarcely fail to observe that English colonization in the nineteenth century was largely a question of making a virtue of a necessity. The law of primogeniture detached the younger sons from the family estates ; in a lower rank of society the pressure of population acted as a powerful stimulant to emigration ; thousands no doubt left England to find a more congenial climate.

In France these motives for taking up colonial life have been entirely lacking. A country in which the law of inheritance gives every man, woman, and child a vested interest in the soil, in which the number of the population is nearly stationary, a land endowed in a higher degree perhaps than any other with everything which goes to the making of an attractive place of residence, can offer its Colonies but little in the way of colonists.

It was Bismarck, I believe, who described the colonial affairs of the three Great Powers in the

epigram, "England has colonies and colonists; Germany has colonists but no colonies, France has colonies but no colonists."

It is abundantly clear that Frenchmen are unwilling either to seek a livelihood in the French Colonies or to invest their capital in colonial industries. That a certain number of Frenchmen have been induced by the payment of enormous subsidies to various enterprises to go to the French Colonies, and to take their capital with them, does not alter the fact that there is little emigration to "France-beyond-the-Sea" which does not rest in a greater or less degree upon State aid in one form or another.

So with Indo-China, the reforms of M. Doumer, which have accomplished so much in the direction of improving the administration and finances of the Colony, have done very little towards satisfying its greatest needs — French colonists and French capital.

What remains to be done is to throw the Colony open to foreign enterprise, to remove the pernicious customs regulations, and thus to give others an opportunity of undertaking the work of development which the French seem unwilling or unable to carry out.

With others to lead the way, and with achieved success to reason from, the Frenchman might be persuaded to follow. Even if this hope were not realized, the general advantages which would result from the investment of large foreign capital would

in themselves be sufficient to bring great prosperity to what is potentially one of the finest Colonies in the world.

CHAPTER IX

JAVA

WHEN the Dutch people entered the field of colonial enterprise, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Spaniards and the Portuguese had already been engaged for more than a hundred years in the work of Asiatic and American discovery, and they had divided the globe into two hemispheres of exploitation, the Western falling to Spain, the Eastern to Portugal — an arrangement which was sanctioned by a Papal Bull of Pope Alexander the Sixth.

Both in regard to the motives from which they entered upon this new phase of national activity, and to the methods which were adopted for carrying out the nation's policy, the Dutch represented influences which differed completely from those which had hitherto directed the course of modern colonization.

The Portuguese had been inspired by the pure spirit of adventure and exploration ; and the origin of the colonial empire of Portugal is to be sought rather in the personal tastes of Prince Henry the Navigator than in any national desire for territorial expansion. It is true that at a later date commerce became the chief motive for the extension of Portu-

guese authority beyond seas, but it was not until the influence of the early explorers had died out that Portuguese colonization assumed the character of a trade investment.

Spain commenced her career as a colonial power by the acquisition of the Canary Islands in the middle of the fifteenth century; but it was the discovery of the New World by Columbus, the Genoese sailor, under Spanish patronage, which led to the first substantial additions to Spanish territory. Until within comparatively recent times trade had no place in the colonial undertakings of the Spaniards, the driving force of their empire was supplied by the missionary's zeal for the soul of the heathen, and by the greed of the adventurer for the precious metals.

In the sixteenth century a large Oriental trade had sprung up under the Portuguese flag, and the Dutch cities of Antwerp and Amsterdam, supplied by Dutch ships through the port of Lisbon, had become the distributing centres for Northwestern Europe. About the middle of the century the Dutch commenced their great revolt against Spain for national independence, and in 1579 the United Provinces were proclaimed a Republic. Although the war with Spain involved a great expenditure of men and money, the new Republic was able to maintain itself so long as its connection with Portugal gave it the handling of the Oriental trade. But in 1580 Portugal was annexed to the Spanish Crown, and five years later the Spaniards seized and confiscated

all Dutch ships lying in Spanish and Portuguese harbors.

This act presented a clear issue to the Dutch people. Either they must submit to the destruction of their principal source of prosperity, or they must break the Spanish monopoly of Oriental commerce. The former course meant nothing less than national ruin; the latter could be accomplished only by going to war with Spain in the Eastern seas, and engaging in the wholesale trade with those countries which hitherto they had reached through the medium of Portugal.

The people rose to the occasion, and at the close of a struggle which lasted seventy years they found themselves masters of the East Indian Islands, and one of the foremost colonial powers of the time.

One of the most striking characteristics of Dutch colonial enterprise is the entire absence, throughout almost the whole range of Dutch colonial history, of any spirit of Imperialism or any desire for territorial aggrandizement. Forced into a career of colonial adventure by the threat of commercial extinction, the Dutch made the most determined efforts to confine their colonial establishments in the East within the compass of a few fortified trading-posts, and although, in common with all other nations, they discovered that there existed between the spirit of independent native rule and the spirit of commerce an antagonism which made conquest the only practicable road towards trade intercourse, they steadily resisted every extension of their au-

thority which was not absolutely necessary, and acquired territory only when the clear alternative was presented of abandoning their warehouses.

The nineteenth century — which added more than three million square miles to the colonial empire of France, and twice that area to the British dominions ; which saw the creation of a German colonial realm, with an area of a million square miles, and the addition of 130,000 square miles of over-sea territory to the United States — made to the Dutch colonial empire, as it was at the end of the Napoleonic wars, the single important contribution of Sumatra. The Imperialism which gave to France Suffren and Dupleix, to England Hastings and Clive, finds no place in the annals of Dutch expansion ; in that long record the greatest names are those of Daendels, who adapted to Dutch undertakings in Java the native institution of forced labor, and of General van den Bosch, who organized the culture system in the Island. This lack of great military achievement in the story of Dutch intercourse with Java, so far from detracting from its interest, endows it with a peculiar attraction for the student of colonial affairs ; for it affords the spectacle first of a great trading corporation, and later of a national Government devoting its whole energy to the purely administrative measures which were deemed essential for the accomplishment of the aims of a definite and unchanging policy.

The Island of Java was the first acquisition of the

Dutch, and it has remained to the present day their most important Colony. It has an area of 50,554 square miles (about equal to that of England), a population of 30,000,000 (somewhat less than that of Italy), and its external trade reached a value in 1901 of \$119,000,000 gold — nearly equal to that of the external trade of Cuba.

The Dutch established themselves in Java during the early years of the seventeenth century, and Batavia, which has always been the capital of Netherlands-India, was founded in 1619.

In order to understand the peculiar circumstances under which the Java trade was created, some reference must be made to the native organization which existed in the Island at the time of the Dutch occupation.

After fourteen hundred years of Hindu domination Java succumbed in the fifteenth century of our era to a Mohammedan invasion, and when the Dutch arrived in the Island they found it split up into a number of small States under Mohammedan rulers, most of whom were nominally the vassals of the powerful Sultan of Mataram in Central Java, but who, in point of fact, maintained an absolute rule over their districts.

The natives were simply the slaves of their rulers; they enjoyed no property rights either in the land or its produce, and from this cause alone the Dutch found it impossible to enter into direct commercial relations with the people themselves. The only alternative was to deal with the Sultans,

and here the Dutch were confronted with two serious obstacles — one, that some of the Sultans preferred to trade with the English, who had secured certain privileges in the Island; the other, that the utter unreliability of the native rulers in matters of trade introduced into all transactions an element of uncertainty which constantly threatened the Company with serious losses.

By the conquest of the Sultanates and the establishment of Dutch authority it was hoped that the English competition could be killed and the trade placed on a satisfactory footing. Accordingly, in 1618, the State of Jacatra was conquered, and by the middle of the seventeenth century nearly one fifth of the Island was under Dutch control.

Under the Dutch East India Company, which controlled the affairs of Java until the end of the eighteenth century, the sole object of the administration was to secure the greatest possible profits to the shareholders, and when the Dutch State supplanted the Company as the directing authority this object remained paramount to all others, the nation merely taking the place of the shareholders as the beneficiary body. It was not until after the constitutional changes of 1848 had crowned the efforts of the Liberal party in Holland that Dutch colonial policy began to lose its quality of ingrained selfishness; it was only in 1876 that the last contribution was made from the Treasury of Batavia to that of The Hague; it was not until 1903 that a law was passed in Holland providing that in future the

Dutch Indies should enjoy the whole of their local revenue.

The history of the Company's rule in Java (1602-1795) discloses two facts of great significance in relation to the control of tropical dependencies — one, that the difficulties under which the Company labored during the greater part of its existence, and its final complete downfall, were due to faults in the Dutch administrative methods; the other, that the great hardships and sufferings which the natives endured until within recent times were occasioned by the vices inherent in the native organization. These two sets of failings reacted upon one another in the course of time, and each aggravated the evils produced by the other; but the broad fact remains that in the contact between the natives and the Dutch each side paid the penalty of its own peculiar defects. The object of the Dutch was trade; the affairs of the Company were regulated by a committee of tradesmen in Holland and administered by a staff of tradesmen in Java. In these circumstances it might have been expected that, in so far as the business of the Company related to merchandise, it would be conducted on principles not less intelligent than those which guided the commerce of those days, and that, in so far as it related to government, it would be committed to the guidance of men specially qualified to undertake the definition and execution of a wise policy. In regard to each of those matters the Company failed lamentably. Unable to enforce its mo-

nopoly of the Eastern trade to the extent of killing foreign competition (a measure for which the action of other nations afforded ample precedent, and the trade conditions of the period some reasonable excuse), it made it completely operative as far as its own countrymen were concerned. It rejected the advice of Governor-General Coen, who favored a free immigration of Dutchmen to Java in the capacities of planters and small traders, and thereby lost an opportunity of eliminating the native middleman and of throwing the burden of production on men whose interests would always lie in the direction of a rapid development of the Island's resources, advantages which would have relieved the Company of many of its political difficulties, and would still have left in its hands the complete monopoly of the trade with the mother country.

But it is in the domain of internal administration that the Company's rule in Java exhibits the greatest faults of policy and mechanism. It became clear at the very outset that, owing to the peculiar local conditions, the application of all measures having as their object the collection of trade products for shipment to Europe would have to be intrusted almost entirely to native agents. To have attempted any close control or supervision by Dutch officials would not only have defeated the main purpose of the Company, by depriving the native middleman of that opportunity for extortion which alone caused him to exert the necessary pressure upon the cultivator, but, in order to have been in any

degree effective, would have involved an expense quite beyond the ability of the trade to bear. The obvious course to pursue under such conditions was to offset the evils which lay in the necessity of employing an incompetent and dishonest native organization by appointing men of ability and integrity to handle the trade as soon as it came under direct Dutch control, and by concentrating the energy and intelligence of the local administration in an effort to secure the greatest possible quantity of the best possible products for the European market. By adopting the short-sighted policy of paying the lowest salaries which would secure the services of any person out of work in Holland, the Company destroyed its only chance of permanent success. It is almost incredible that a great enterprise such as that which the Company had undertaken in Java should have been placed in the hands of men the great majority of whom received salaries of less than £100 a year, half of which was held in Holland as deferred pay until the completion of the term for which the official was engaged. The Governor-General himself received a salary of £1200 a year, less than that of the present Second Secretary of the General Post-Office in London.

The effect of this parsimony was twofold — on the one hand, the Company failed to secure the class of man which its difficult position most urgently demanded; on the other, the utterly inadequate salaries made incompetence probable and dishonesty certain throughout the service. The

Company itself has thrown the best side-light on the character of its own servants. In order to check the extravagance in vogue amongst the officials in Java, it passed sumptuary laws forbidding the wearing of jewels, prescribing the kind of carriage in which officials might travel, and limiting the number of horses which might be attached to the vehicle — extraordinary precautions to be taken for the discipline of men drawing pay equal to £50 a year. When it was found that these regulations failed to bring the officials to a due sense of their official poverty, the Company changed its tactics, and, instead of trying to check dishonesty by restricting the uses to which stolen money might be put, estimated the amount which each of the higher officials was stealing, and then made him pay into the Government Treasury a certain proportion of it. It is not necessary to go beyond the general character of the Company's administration to find a cause for the bankruptcy which overwhelmed it in 1793.

Before passing to a consideration of the native organization through which the Company reached the Javanese cultivator, attention may be directed to a truth which the growth of morbid altruism in recent times has done much to obscure. Current literature in England and in the United States, in so far as it has dealt during the past decade with questions of colonial government, has shown an increasing tendency to emphasize the arbitrary and oppressive character of white rule in the tropics. It

is true that this criticism has been made for the most part by men who have had little or no experience of colonial life, and whose studies have been generally confined to ferreting out isolated instances of misgovernment for the purpose of condemning colonial enterprise ; but it has, nevertheless, exerted a considerable influence on public opinion, especially in America. The plain fact, which is familiar to every one who has made a study of native institutions in the tropics, is that, with very few exceptions, each European Government which has been established in the tropics since the beginning of the seventeenth century, however selfish, brutal, and ignorant it may appear when compared with the best extra-tropical Governments of the same period, has been wise, liberal, and beneficent in comparison with the native Government which it replaced.

When the Dutch arrived in Java the native organization was such as to exclude the possibility of conducting any trade with the individuals forming the population. The country was split up into a number of native States under the rule of Mohammedan Sultans, and in these States trade hardly existed. Under the native custom, which deprived the people of every property right in the soil and its produce, production was confined to supplying the barest necessities of the cultivators and the deliveries of food, cloth, and other commodities exacted by the Sultans and their officials. The natives, who were oppressed by the operation of a rigid system of debt-slavery, and whose time was

eaten up by the demands of their rulers for free-labor services, could be reached only through the medium of the Sultans; and at first the Dutch attempted to found a trade by entering into agreements with the Sultans for the delivery, at fixed prices, of certain quantities of products suitable for the European market. But it was found in practice that only by conquering the Sultans and placing them under Dutch control could they be induced to fulfill their agreements, and thus the trade grew *pari passu* with the spread of Dutch authority.

The system which was then introduced supplied the trade products in two ways, by means of "contingents" and "forced deliveries." The former were certain quantities of products paid by the native rulers to the Company as tribute; the latter were further quantities of products called for by the Company, which the native ruler had to find and to sell to the Company at a price agreed upon. It is seen, therefore, that the trade rested upon a political rather than upon an economic basis. Although attempts were made from time to time to limit the authority of the Regents (the title which the native rulers held after their submission to the Company) and to save the cultivators from oppression, it may be said that the custom of the Company was to leave the whole control of production to the native organization, and to interfere only when the supply of products fell short of the amount demanded. The relation between the Directors in Holland and the cultivators in Java was

established in the following way: The Directors informed the Governor-General as to what products were required in Holland; the Governor-General instructed the Regents to furnish them as "contingents" and "forced deliveries;" the Regents, acting as the agents of the Company in its capacity as lord of the soil, distributed the land to the cultivators on the condition of their supplying the products demanded by the Company; and the cultivators grew the crops. The cultivator suffered chiefly because the demands made upon him by the Company increased at every stage of their transmission down the line of the native organization, until they provided handsome returns for each native official who handled the delivery of the products up the line to the Company's receiving agent.

It is impossible to gain any insight into the financial affairs of the Company during any period of its existence. Not only was the utmost secrecy observed in regard to all transactions, not only were the shareholders themselves kept in complete ignorance of what was going on in the Indies, but two sets of books were used, one relating to the Company's affairs in India, the other to its home operations, and between these no balance was ever struck. We know that the Indian accounts were always carelessly, and often dishonestly, kept, and that no efficient audit was ever carried out, we know that in some years dividends were declared when there were no profits, and that in other years no dividends were declared when profits were made; we know

that during the seventeenth century the Company's trade generally yielded a profit, and that during the eighteenth century a decline in prosperity occurred which culminated in the bankruptcy of 1793. But beyond these general facts little accurate information of any importance is available.

In 1795 the administrative functions of the Directors were assumed by the State, and three years later the Dutch East India Company was finally abolished. Its epitaph has been written by the eminent Dutch publicist De Louter.

To the day of its downfall the Company remained faithful to its origin. It was a company of brisk and energetic tradesmen, who, with profits as their lode-star and greed as their compass, obtained, through the chance of events, absolute control of one of the most beautiful and fertile regions of the earth, and unhesitatingly sacrificed it to their low ideals¹

The history of Dutch administration in Java since the downfall of the Company falls naturally into three periods—the transition period from 1795 to 1816, during which, as an incident of the Napoleonic wars, the Island was for five years under British rule; the period of Crown control from 1816 to 1848, and the reform period, which commenced in 1848, as a result of the constitutional changes in Holland, and has continued down to the present time.

Although the first of these periods is full of

¹ Handleiding tot de Kennis van het Staats-en Administratief Recht van Nederlandsch-Indië. Fourth Edition, p. 59.

interest, because it includes the work of Marshal Daendels, and of Sir Stamford Raffles, the Lieutenant-Governor during the British occupation, it does not lend itself to precise treatment in a short essay; and its character is that of all periods of transition, in regard to which the student of later conditions seeks rather to learn what general principles were evolved through the strife of conflicting theories and influences than to gain any deep insight into the process of interaction. Two residual principles of the transition period exerted a profound influence on the course of Dutch policy in Java. One was laid down in the instructions of the State Commission, which was appointed in 1802 to report on the condition of Java and to suggest the best measures for its future government — that the object of the Dutch Government in its relations with Java was to secure the greatest possible benefit to the trade of Holland and the greatest possible advantage to the finances of the mother country. The other principle was that on which Marshal Daendels founded his whole administration, namely, that in extending their sovereignty the Dutch should exact from the people all those feudal services which had formerly been yielded to the native rulers; in other words, the utilization of the native institutions of forced labor and State ownership of the soil.

It was during the administration of General van den Bosch and his successors that these principles found their most complete expression in the mea-

asures of the Government. Of these the most important was the culture-system, which was introduced by van den Bosch in 1830, and remained for nearly forty years the chief concern of the local administration. The theory on which the system rested was this: Instead of paying to the Government, as formerly, two fifths of their main crop as land rent, the cultivators should place at the disposal of the Government one fifth of their laboring hours and as much of their land as could be cultivated by that amount of labor. The Government would pay a fixed price for the products delivered to it and would bear the loss due to bad crops when the cause was other than the neglect of the laborers. The advantage which van den Bosch hoped to reap from the system was that valuable products suitable for the European market would be grown under skilled European supervision and would yield a handsome profit, after all expenses of administration and purchase had been discharged; the advantages he promised the cultivators were such as would arise from an intelligent direction of their labor in the cultivation of crops, for which, even at the low rate offered by the Government, they would receive a much larger return than from the sale of their ordinary rice crop.

In order to make the system a financial success, it was necessary to enlist the active sympathy of the higher class of natives, and to make it worth the while of the Dutch officials to exert a constant pressure on the native organization. To achieve

these ends an important change was made in the position of the native rulers. Formerly the practice had been to alter the title of each Sultan whose territory was conquered by the Dutch to that of Regent, and to allot him a salary as a servant of the Crown. Van den Bosch secured the assistance of the Regents by restoring to them part of the powers and privileges which they had enjoyed as petty rulers, and by assigning to them the control of large tracts of land in place of salaries. These concessions were well calculated to bring the Regents into line with the Government's policy ; for the former meant an increase of prestige, and the latter carried with it the power of taxation and the resumption of the old feudal rights over the people. The land grants, moreover, were not confined to the Regents, but were carried as far down the line of the native organization as they were likely to be of advantage. As far as the Dutch officials were concerned, their help was secured by the payment of a percentage on the value of all crops raised in their districts, and by a tacit understanding that as long as the yield of export products was maintained at a high figure they would not find their general conduct subjected to a very close scrutiny.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the evils which arose from these causes alone. Small as had been the control exercised by the Dutch over the treatment of the cultivators by the Regents, it had represented a certain restraint which was now wholly removed. The abuses of power by the Dutch offi-

cials had stopped at the point where their interests clashed with those of the Regents; these interests were now reconciled by the advantages which each side hoped to enjoy under the culture-system; and the faults of the lower native organization, instead of being checked to some small extent by an opposition of the two controlling authorities, were intensified by their conjunction in a common cause.

In order to understand the relation between the lower native organization and the culture-system, it is necessary to describe the former in some detail. It is impossible within a brief compass to separate its functions in connection with the land-tax (which was the principal resource of revenue in the districts where the forced cultures were not undertaken) from those which it performed as the administrative machinery of the culture-system; and there would be little significance in the differentiation, for the abuses of the land-tax administration differed only in form, and not in principle, from those of the culture-system. The conquered Sultanates which formed the Dutch territory in Java had been ruled by the delegation of authority from the ruler to a host of officials. In the long line from the Sultan down to the village headman two fundamental principles had always been observed, one that each official assumed and exercised as great a degree of authority as he dared, the other that responsibility worked upwards and never downwards.

The great bulk of the people of Java lived in

village communities of two kinds. In the eastern and western extremities of the Island the village community was a self-governing unit, in which the principle of election governed the choice of the petty officials. In the rotation of office the people enjoyed a very real protection against the grosser forms of oppression ; and although the taxes which were collected by the headman on the orders of the officials of the General Government were generally very heavy, the villages at least enjoyed the privilege of managing their own internal affairs. In Central Java, where the culture-system was most firmly established, the village community was organized on an entirely different basis. In this region the officials of the central native Government, instead of receiving pay from the general revenues of their districts, as was the custom elsewhere, were assigned the control of the land, in consideration of an annual payment to the Sultan's treasury. As the control of the land invested the local officials with all the rights of Government, they were able to exploit their districts with the most merciless severity. All the powers which related to the collection of taxes and to the exaction of forced labor were sublet by the higher district officials to subordinate agents, who, in turn, sublet them to the petty officials in immediate contact with the natives.

Under this system the highest bidder became the actual master of the people ; and he used his authority for the sole purpose of extorting the

largest contributions in money, kind, and labor, which could be secured without driving the cultivators to exercise the only right they had — that of emigration. It is not difficult to understand how, with a native organization of this kind, the culture-system, which in principle was free from any oppressive features, became in practice an intolerable burden upon the cultivators.

When all allowance is made for the corruption of the Dutch officials, which affected the economic interests of the Dutch Government to a much greater extent than it did the social and political interests of the natives, it is clear that the greatest evils of the culture-system arose from the character of the native organization through which it was applied, an organization which had been developed before the advent of the Dutch, and for which they cannot be held responsible. It is very easy to blame the Dutch Government for its failure to reform the native organization at least to the extent of removing its most glaring faults ; but the difficulty of effecting any radical changes in native institutions, which have gradually grown up in the course of centuries, and become part of the native life, is generally underestimated by those who have never had occasion to observe how often it is the case that the lower class of natives in the tropics prefer to endure the worst kind of oppression at the hands of their fellow countrymen rather than have improvements effected by the introduction of reforms by outsiders. It is true that the Dutch never made any

determined and enduring effort in the earlier days of their rule to reform the lower native organization; it is certain that, if such an effort had been made, it would have been rewarded with very small success. The culture-system, with all its faults, achieved the object for which it was introduced. In the thirty-five years of its full operation it contributed to the treasury of Holland more than £40,000,000, representing chiefly profits on the sale of Government coffee and sugar, and this after paying all the expenses, civil and military, of Netherlands-India.

The reform period in the history of Dutch administration in Java dates from the Dutch Constitution of 1848, which took the control of colonial affairs from the absolute power of the King and vested it in the Dutch Legislature. It was not, however, until 1854 that the "Regeerings-Reglement" was passed, which laid down in detail the objects of Dutch rule in Asia, and prescribed the form of government for Netherlands-India. The changes which have taken place in Java during the past fifty years amount, in fact, to a revolution in the ideals and methods of the Government. The Dutch policy, from having been one of the most selfish and conservative of all times, has become liberal and progressive; the higher administration, which was formerly corrupt and inefficient, is now capable and honest; the native organization has become the subject of close study by the Dutch officials, and although the time has not yet sufficed to remove all

its ingrained faults, a steady and constant pressure is being exerted in the direction of reform ; and with the opening up of the country by means of roads and railways, and through the spread of education amongst the natives, this pressure is producing effects which would have been impossible in the old days.

The forces of change have been drawn from many sources. The reform and gradual abolition of the culture-system was due in no small degree to the publication in 1860 of Dekker's "Max Havelaar," which brought home to the Dutch people some of the evils which had arisen through the abuse of the system. The establishment of regular steam communication and of telegraphic connection with Europe, though it has encouraged an undue interference from home in the details of administration, has tightened the chain of responsibility between the local officials and their superiors in Holland. The care which is now exercised in the selection and training of colonial officials and the increase which has been made in their salaries (which are still lower than they should be) have attracted a better class of men to the service. But behind these causes of improvement lie the growth of popular sentiment in Europe in favor of a more liberal spirit in colonial enterprise and the quickened sense of responsibility of the Colonial Powers towards their subject races.

I can deal here with only two features of the present Dutch policy in Java — land-tenure and

Civil Service. The central principle of the land-law of Java is that all land, other than the comparatively small area sold outright to Europeans and Chinese in the early days, is the property of the State. In the application of this principle free play is allowed for the operation of the native customs in regard to land-tenure, with the result that all agricultural land, with the exception noted above, is held on hereditary leasehold tenure by individuals, or in communal holdings. The latter form of tenure was greatly extended during the period of the culture-system, because it enabled the Government to deal with the village, instead of with the individual, as the unit of administration — an arrangement which effected a great economy in supervision, by throwing the responsibility on to the shoulders of the village headman. The assessment of the land-tax for the individual holdings follows the method adopted in British India. A careful survey is made of each holding, the value of the crop is estimated, and a tax, varying between six and twelve per cent., is levied, according to circumstances. In the case of land held under communal tenure, the land-tax is assessed in a lump sum on the village lands, and the headman distributes the burden amongst the villagers. The most important feature of the land-law of Java is the extraordinary strictness with which land sales and land leases between private individuals are regulated. Natives may sell their tenure-rights to one another, but the sale of tenure-right by a native to

a European, or to a foreign Asiatic, is absolutely prohibited. It is a regulation maintained for the purpose of protecting the native from the loss of his vested interest in the land, and it has been completely successful. It is a policy which differs radically from that of almost every other nation, but there is no reason to doubt that to its enforcement may be attributed in great part the prosperity and contentment of the Javanese peasantry. In the leasing of land to Europeans and to foreign Asiatics a difference is recognized between land already under cultivation by natives and uncleared or waste land. The leasing of cultivated land from natives is hedged about with the most harassing restrictions, and, although the regulations in regard to waste land are more liberal, it is generally felt that the Government has gone too far in its desire to protect the native, and has thereby retarded the development of the country.

The basis of the present regulations for the Civil Service of the Dutch East Indies is the law of 1864, which has been modified during the past forty years only in some minor details. The effect of this law is that no one is appointed to an administrative post in the Dutch East Indies who has not passed the grand examination for officials. This examination is divided into two parts, a preliminary and a final, and covers only the history, geography, ethnology, laws, institutions, and customs of Netherlands-India, and the Malay and Javanese languages. The feature of the examination which at

once strikes the student is the exclusively local character of the required subjects, and this is brought into greater prominence by the fact that the general education of the candidate is considered satisfactory if he has graduated from a high school. In this respect the examination differs completely from that for our own Indian Civil Service, in which the open competitive examination relates entirely to the general education of the candidates — in a range of subjects as wide apart as Greek history, animal physiology, moral philosophy, and analytical jurisprudence — and knowledge of local institutions, laws, and languages is demanded only in the final examination, after the candidates have been selected for appointment. The difference in principle between these two methods is much greater than appears at first sight. Under the Dutch system, as was pointed out by a special commission in 1899, the candidate gains a knowledge of local detail which is not enough for practical use, and yet could be acquired with much less trouble on the spot, and there is no guarantee of diversity of training, general education, or character. The English system requires these three qualities as a preliminary endowment, and leaves the study of detail to be pursued in India. From the standpoint of the candidate there can be no question as to which is the better method; for in Holland the candidate who is unsuccessful finds himself out of employment, with no other equipment for a career than a knowledge of a great

many things which can be of no possible use to him except in the service which he cannot enter. In England a candidate who fails in the open competitive examination suffers no hardship beyond his failure, for he is in precisely the same position as any student who has followed the ordinary course of a University education.

In dealing with the administration of Java during a period of three centuries within the narrow limits of this chapter, it has been impossible to do more than indicate the general lines of development, and it has been necessary to pass over a number of exceptions to my general statements, both in the field of Government policy and in that of individual character and conduct, simply because they were exceptions. I cannot refrain, in conclusion, from paying a tribute of respect to the General Secretariat of Java. It is undermanned, it is underpaid, it is burdened with an incredible mass of detail, owing to the extreme centralization of the Government, yet in no Colony which I have visited have I seen more perfect methods of work, a more thorough system of records, or a more intelligent appreciation of the functions which belong to a colonial secretariat.

CHAPTER X

THE ACQUISITION OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

To the student of comparative colonization the entrance of the United States upon a career of over-sea expansion presents none of the elements of abnormality which chain the attention of those who, while attributing to the institutions of the American Government and to the character of the American people peculiar qualities which invalidate every argument based upon the universal experience of other nations, approach the subject from the standpoint of an American history isolated from the general progress of mankind. It is a matter of plain fact that in the whole of recorded history there cannot be found a single instance of a nation which, having reached a certain stage of economic development, has not embarked upon enterprises of territorial expansion, that this phenomenon in the growth of nations has persisted in all climates and under every form of government, that it is common to all races, and that it has been associated with every form of religion, heathen or Christian, of which we have any knowledge. It is not too much to say that no single element in the human character has done more to mould the destinies of mankind than this intimate relation

between intellectual and physical vigor and territorial expansion. With these facts in view the impartial observer finds it more natural to link the over-sea expansion of the United States with the continuous chain of human evolution than to regard it as an abnormal sequel to a hundred years of local history.

In order to understand the course of American policy and administration in the Philippines it is necessary to emphasize the perfectly normal character of the undertaking, and to insist that, in so far as the problem of the Philippines concerns the Philippine people, it has presented at no stage a single important feature for which the experience of other nations does not afford a parallel. Those questions which relate to the constitutionality or otherwise of the whole relation between the United States and the Philippine Islands, or of any particular administrative measure, concern the American people alone, and are of no interest whatever to the Philippine natives; and my estimate of American action in the Islands is based not upon any adjustment to an American standard of political principle or conduct, in regard to which there appears to be no small conflict of opinion in the United States, but upon its relation to the economic, social, and political welfare of the Philippine Islands.

When Philippine affairs are thus severed from their unnatural connection with American home politics, and are approached as a problem in

which the end sought is simply the achievement of the greatest good for the Philippine people, the inquiry is raised from the plane of political bickering to that of national statesmanship, and the discussion loses that quality of acerbity which invariably obscures the point at issue, and, in administrative matters, usually paralyzes the constructive forces of the authority finally left in control.

Under the terms of the Peace Protocol of August 12, 1898, the United States was authorized to "occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a Treaty of Peace which shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines;" and under the terms of that Treaty, concluded on December 10, 1898, Spain ceded to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands. But in the interval which elapsed between the battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, and the signing of the Peace Protocol on August 12, American action in the Philippines assumed definite shape, and the occurrences of that period have exerted the most profound influence upon the whole Philippine situation

I should be content to pass over the events which preceded the Treaty of Peace as *facts accomplis* were it not that the policy pursued by the United States under its rights as a belligerent, and later under the status established by the Peace Protocol, is marked by those very characteristics which are

so strikingly apparent in the conduct of affairs after the Treaty of Peace had given the United States full power to proceed in all respects as her statesmen might deem proper. Almost every act of the United States in the Philippines, except those of a purely military nature, from the date of the battle of Manila Bay down to the present time, has been characterized by what may be called from one standpoint independence and originality, or, from another standpoint, blindness to local conditions and contempt for universal experience.

This attitude of detachment, alike from the insular environment and from the historical example of three centuries of the failures and successes of others in a similar field, has been the most influential factor in American relations with the Islands; and in order to make the point clear, and to show the continuity of this element in American policy from the very commencement of the Philippine affair, it is necessary to deal briefly with the earlier phases of the Philippine problem.

At the beginning of the year 1898 it was a matter of common knowledge in the Far East that Aguinaldo and his principal adherents, who had left the Philippines in 1897 under the terms of the Treaty of Biac-na-Bató, had decided that the promises of reform, which constituted the Spanish obligation under the Treaty, had not been performed, and that the Philippine Junta had decided to commence another revolution at the earliest favorable moment. Aguinaldo himself never made the slight-

est attempt to conceal the motive of the proposed revolution, namely, the achievement of political independence for the Philippine Islands; and it is impossible to suppose that the American consuls in Singapore and Hong Kong were not fully aware of his intentions in this respect at the time when the former (Mr. Spencer Pratt) "sought him out . . . as the man for the occasion," and sent him to Admiral Dewey, and the latter (Mr. Rounsevelle Wildman) accepted the post of Honorary Treasurer of the Philippine Patriotic League and drafted the Proclamation which Aguinaldo issued on his arrival at Cavite.

Aguinaldo was taken in an American transport to Manila, was given arms by the American authorities, was allowed to seize Spanish arms in Cavite, and was encouraged in every way to start his insurrection; and these things were done *after* he had publicly issued a proclamation declaring his intention of establishing an independent Philippine Republic. Even if we accept General Anderson's statement ("North American Review," February, 1900) that as late as July, 1898, Admiral Dewey was not aware that the Americans would hold the Philippines if they were captured, and assume that up to that time the Admiral believed that the policy of the United States would be to grant independence to the Philippines, the early treatment of Aguinaldo was a deplorable mistake.

What Admiral Dewey's action amounted to was this, that without any definite information as to

what the policy of the United States would be if the war with Spain involved the capture of the Philippines, he conveyed to the Islands, under circumstances which implied an official recognition of the purposes of the insurgents, the one man who could most seriously compromise the situation, and whose declared aim, if successfully carried out, could only have one of two results, either the recognition of Philippine independence or a war between the United States and the new Republic.

It is true that neither Admiral Dewey nor any other responsible agent of the American Government ever gave Aguinaldo an explicit assurance that the United States would recognize Philippine independence; but in the absence of any declaration of an opposite intention, and in view of the circumstances under which the war with Spain had been undertaken, and having regard to the support and encouragement given to Aguinaldo by high American officials after he had declared in unmistakable terms, and in the most public manner possible, his opinion that the Americans had come to give the Philippines an independent government, it is impossible to accuse Aguinaldo of having put a strained construction upon the attitude of the American officials, or of importing into their acts a significance which could not be fairly attributed to them.

Up to the middle of June, 1898, there appears to have been no official declaration, public or private, of the policy which the United States intended

to pursue toward the Philippines ; but on June 16, Mr. Day, the Secretary of State in Mr. McKinley's Cabinet, wrote a dispatch to the United States Consul in Singapore which contained a definite statement of the views of the Administration on the subject of Philippine independence. In the course of this communication Mr. Day said : " This Government has known the Philippine insurgents only as discontented and rebellious subjects of Spain, and is not acquainted with their purposes. . . . The United States in entering upon the occupation of the Islands . . . will expect from the inhabitants, without regard to their former attitude towards the Spanish Government, that obedience which will be lawfully due from them. If, in the course of your conferences with General Aguinaldo, you acted upon the assumption that this Government would cooperate with him for the furtherance of any plan of his own, or that, in accepting his coopération, it would consider itself pledged to recognize any political claims which he may put forward, your action was unauthorized and cannot be approved."

The first question which naturally arises in regard to this declaration is, Was the policy here outlined communicated to the American naval and military commanders in the Philippines or to Aguinaldo himself ? I have been unable to find any evidence that Mr. Day's statement received any greater publicity than was afforded by the correspondence files of the American Consulate in Singapore ; in-

deed, there is strong presumptive evidence that it never reached the Philippines through any official channel, for throughout the latter part of 1898 Aguinaldo repeatedly sought to obtain a declaration of American policy in regard to independence, and as late as September 8, General Otis informed him, "I have not been instructed as to what policy the United States intends to pursue. . . ."

The relations between Aguinaldo and the American commanders prior to June 16 fall into an entirely different category from those which existed after that date, for the former represented the personal judgment of individual officers acting largely on their own responsibility, whereas the latter rested on the responsibility of the authorities in Washington, who had formulated a definite policy and were in a position to control the action of their local representatives in conformity with it. It is most difficult, therefore, to reconcile the actions of the military commanders in the Philippines after June 16 with the declaration contained in Mr. Day's dispatch to the effect that no recognition of any kind would be given to the political ambitions of Aguinaldo. I have space only to give two instances of the extraordinary nature of the attitude of the military authorities toward an insurgent general whom the United States had decided not to recognize.

On August 8, 1898, General Anderson wrote, "General Emilio Aguinaldo, Commanding Filipino Forces. Will Your Excellency consent to my occupation of the intrenchments facing Blockhouse

No. 14? . . .” On October 14 General Otis wrote, “General Emilio Aguinaldo, Commanding Filipino Revolutionary Forces: General, it is my desire to place it [a convalescent camp] at a locality which would not inconvenience any organization connected with your forces . . . and to the emergency of this anticipated proceeding I respectfully invite your consideration and ask your assistance should execution become necessary.”

The Philippine situation developed rapidly during the latter half of 1898, and in February of the following year the political aspect of affairs, which had been marked by steadfast progress on the part of Aguinaldo in strengthening his military position and in extending his Government in Luzon and in several other islands, and by a constant repetition on the part of the Americans of vague assurances that the intentions of the United States were highly benevolent, and a careful avoidance of any act or declaration definitely favorable or adverse to the specific question of Philippine independence, was completely changed by the outbreak of war between the two armies. This eventuality had been foreseen for some weeks by each side, and the most ingenious devices were resorted to by the Filipinos to throw the responsibility of the first act of hostility on the shoulders of the Americans. As a matter of fact, the war was commenced by the Filipinos, but only after the American soldiers had submitted, with a self-restraint that cannot be too highly praised, to every indignity and insult which

could be expected to provoke an attack on their part, and it had consequently become clear that if the Filipinos were to get the war started before large reinforcements arrived from the United States, they themselves would have to assume the offensive.

The determination of Aguinaldo to fight the Americans was perfectly natural, in view of what had taken place since the battle of Manila Bay. The confidence which he had at first reposed in the Americans had given way, as months passed without any recognition of his Republic, to suspicion and distrust; and by the beginning of 1899 it was realized by the Filipino leaders that whatever the intentions of the Americans were, they were not such as to encourage the hope for an independent native Government. The only thing lacking to establish completely this view was a definite statement from the United States, and this was forthcoming on January 4, 1899, in the form of a proclamation from General Otis (his amended version of the President's instructions to the Secretary of War) which finally disposed of Aguinaldo's Government by announcing the assumption of the governing power by the United States. After the publication of this proclamation war was inevitable; and the fact that the Filipinos commenced the fighting has no special significance.

The salient feature of American policy up to this point is the apparent neglect of the Government to regard Aguinaldo and his revolutionary programme

from the only point of view which could promise any guidance in the circumstances. In dealing with Agunaldo, after his arrival in the Islands had placed him in touch with his supporters, the question which should have presented itself to the American authorities was not whether his actions justified a belief that he was incapable of maintaining an independent Government, not whether his political mistakes or inefficient administration would afford a good argument *ex post facto* for the American assumption of the Government, but whether, in view of the determination arrived at on June 16, as set forth in Mr. Day's dispatch, that the insurrectionary movement was not to be recognized, Agunaldo was or was not capable of offering substantial resistance to the American plans. But notwithstanding the frequent reports forwarded to Washington by the military commanders to the effect that Agunaldo was actually in control of practically the whole of the Islands, and that he had not only placed himself in a strong military position, but had established a Civil Government which was in fact administering the affairs of the Islands, there is no evidence in the material thus far made public that any attempt was made to negotiate with the insurgents or to discover whether an arrangement could not be arrived at which would yield to each party so large a proportion of its extreme objects as to afford a basis for common action.

It is known now, and might easily have been known at the time, that there was a conservative

element amongst Aguinaldo's advisers sufficiently powerful to have counteracted the influence of the war party if the United States had given it any sort of encouragement prior to the outbreak of hostilities. Nothing of the kind was done, and the policy which was pursued was to disregard the obvious facts in regard to Aguinaldo's ability to offer a serious resistance to the American assumption of the Government, to take an entirely independent course of action, and to allow a similar privilege to the Revolutionary Government.

That the war in the Philippines could have been avoided by the exercise of the most ordinary prudence, that it could have been avoided if the advice of any British, French, or Dutch Colonial Governor in the Far East had been asked and acted upon, there can be no possible doubt, and it is not less certain that if the Philippine Commission which arrived in Manila shortly after the commencement of the war had been given the power to act, instead of only the power to talk, the war need not have lasted three months. Considerations of space prevent me from dealing with the conduct of the war; and I must dismiss the subject by saying that if in its political aspects it was little but a long succession of errors, in its practical operations it disclosed a devotion and heroism on the part of the American officers and troops which place the campaign on a level with the most striking achievements of the white races in tropical warfare.

CHAPTER XI

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

IN entering upon the control of a tropical dependency in the Far East, as an unavoidable consequence of the destruction of Spanish authority in the Philippine Islands during the war of 1898, the United States assumed a very serious responsibility towards the seven million people who had formerly been the subjects of Spain.

The problems which confronted the new Government were manifold and intricate, and they were greatly complicated by the fact that the difficulties which always arise when the affairs of one race are administered by the officials of another had been intensified by three centuries of Spanish misrule.

The Philippine Commission, which was sent out to the Islands by the late President McKinley early in 1899 to inquire into and to report on the general conditions existing there, and to suggest measures for the future government of the Islands, arrived in Manila on March 4, 1899, one month after the outbreak of hostilities between the American forces and those of Aguinaldo, the head of the Revolutionary Government of the Filipinos.

The Commission was not invested with any authority to intervene in the military situation, and

after spending a month in the Islands, it issued a proclamation setting forth the principles on which the United States intended to proceed in its relations with the Philippine people.

The proclamation, dated April 4, 1899, is of great importance to the student of Philippine history, for it declared in an authoritative manner both the objects of the American Government and the methods by which they were to be attained. It laid down the cardinal principle that "the supremacy of the United States must and will be enforced throughout every part of the Archipelago, and those who resist it can accomplish no end other than their own ruin." And it stated that "the aim and object of the American Government, apart from the fulfillment of the solemn obligations it has assumed toward the family of nations by the acceptance of sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, is the well-being, the prosperity, and the happiness of the Philippine people, and their elevation and advancement to a position among the most civilized peoples of the world."

These ends were to be secured by reform in all departments of the Government, in all branches of the public service, and in all corporations closely touching the life of the common people; by effective provision for the establishment of schools; by making domestic and foreign trade, agriculture, and other industrial pursuits the objects of solicitude and fostering care; by the construction of roads, railroads, and other public works; by the introduc-

tion of a sound system of taxation, under which "it is believed that the needs of the Government will in a short time become compatible with a considerable reduction in taxation;" and by the establishment of an honest and efficient Civil Service and Judiciary.

The changes here outlined were to be effected while granting to the Philippine people "the most ample liberty of self-government which is reconcilable with the maintenance of a wise, just, stable, effective, and economical administration of public affairs, and compatible with the sovereign and international rights and obligations of the United States."

The American Government in the Philippine Islands was wholly military until September 1, 1900, when the military Governor was relieved of the legislative power, which was transferred to the Philippine Commission of which the Hon. William H. Taft was President. On September 1, 1901, the civil executive power was also transferred to the Commission, and that body was enlarged by the addition to it of three Filipino members.

Before passing to a consideration of the structure and working of the Philippine Government I wish to make clear a point which is of some importance in relation to any adverse criticism of the American Philippine Administration.

During the time I was in the Islands, in the early part of 1904, I met a great number of American officials, and in my intercourse with them, an intercourse which was marked throughout

by the greatest courtesy and frankness on their part, I was constantly brought face to face with two facts — one, that with very few exceptions the members of the Civil Service were animated by an honest and sincere desire to do the best thing for the general welfare of the Islands; the other, that side by side with this excellent intention there existed an ignorance of the broad established facts in relation to tropical administration, and an absence of information as to the work of the European nations in the neighboring Colonies, which could scarcely fail to impair most seriously the usefulness of the most conscientious and hard-working official.

The effect of this mental condition of practically a whole Government has been twofold. On the one hand, it has involved a groping about for satisfactory solutions of the most elementary problems of administration, which have finally been solved, after great waste of time and energy, along lines already laid down by other nations, and on the other hand, and this is a far more serious matter, it has deprived the Government of any standard of comparison for its work. To give a single example: I was shown in the Philippines some of the most wretched roads I have seen in fifteen years of colonial travel, and was asked with pride whether the English had ever done anything like that for the benefit of their colonial subjects; and when I replied that you could travel a thousand miles in an automobile in the Federated Malay States on

roads as good as the Massachusetts State roads, my statement was met, if not with absolute incredulity, at least with the last degree of surprise. It was the same thing in a hundred matters. Had any nation except the United States ever given the natives of a Colony any voice in their own government, or given them an honest judiciary, or a good water-supply, or an efficient police force, or ever governed a Colony with any other object than deriving revenue from it? And so on through the whole range of colonial administration! It is obvious that if a body of men, from lack of comparative knowledge, honestly believe that the work they are doing is better than that of all others in the same field, the prospect of improvement originating within the administrative hierarchy is reduced to a minimum.

The evil is one which could easily be removed in the case of men as intelligent and quick-witted as the average American in the Philippines. If, instead of going straight from San Francisco to Manila, the higher officials were ordered to go out by way of Suez, taking a trip through Egypt, Ceylon, and the Malay Peninsula on the way, they would arrive in the Philippines better equipped for useful work than they now are even after some years of residence in the Islands. The experience would not only help toward that breadth of view which is so essential in approaching questions of administration in the tropics, but would give them a sufficient knowledge of the conditions of other Colonies to serve as a standard of comparison for their own

work Nearly all the faults of administration in the Philippines are due to one of two causes—either the pernicious influence of American home politics on Philippine legislation, or the narrow vision of the local officials. It is perhaps too much to hope that the former can be removed, but with the elimination of the latter element the evil effects of the former would be greatly lessened.

The present structure of the Philippine Government differs in some material respects from that of any other tropical dependency of one of the Great Powers.

Although at first sight it appears to afford a larger measure of participation to the people of the Islands than can be found elsewhere, the local conditions under which the Government operates, which are inflexible to a degree that can scarcely be appreciated by any one who has not visited the Islands, give the practical working of the Administration a fairly close resemblance to that of a British Crown Colony Government shorn of some of its most important advantages.

The Philippines belong to a clearly defined type of tropical countries. They have a high mean annual temperature and a low social and economic development; their internal trade is insignificant; they depend for their economic welfare on an export trade resting on agricultural industries; nearly all the manufactured articles used in the Islands are imported, the native labor is entirely inadequate for the development of the natural re-

sources of the country ; the great majority of the people are of the usual lazy, indolent, and thriftless character which distinguishes the native of the tropics ; there is a small educated class, but nearly ninety per cent. of the population cannot read and write any language, European or native.

As the industry of a people bears a very close relation to their political condition — effective political institutions of an advanced type being found only in countries of advanced industrial development : a low economic condition being invariably accompanied by a low political status — the following figures supply a rough standard by which to measure directly the economic position and indirectly the present political capacity of the Philippines in relation to countries possessing a climate, commerce, and population sufficiently similar in a general way to afford a fair basis for comparison.

It must be borne in mind that in tropical countries, where the internal trade is always insignificant, the value of exports gives a very accurate index to the industry of the people. Basing my calculations on the latest available statistics, the following figures are approximately correct Value of exports per annum per capita of population in the Philippines, \$5, in Ceylon, \$8.50, in Porto Rico, \$12, in Sierra Leone, \$19; in the British West Indies, \$20; in Mauritius, \$24; in Java, \$25; in British Guiana, \$30, in the Federated Malay States, \$44.

It is seen from the above figures, which disclose the economic efficiency of nine tropical areas

dependent on one or another of the Great Powers, that the Philippines are in a very low stage of economic development. The inference might naturally be drawn that the Philippine people are less able to direct their political and administrative affairs than are the inhabitants of any of the colonies included in the comparison. But this view has not commended itself to the United States; and in a country which is poorer, chiefly from lack of industry in the people, than almost any other tropical country not under purely native rule, inhabited by people certainly not more intelligent than those of the other tropical dependencies referred to above, there has been established a Government more expensive than any other Colonial Government in the tropics, and much more dependent for its efficiency on the cooperation of the natives.

Broadly speaking, the American policy in regard to the control and development of the Philippines is the exact opposite of that adopted by every other nation, in that political development has been taken as the standard of attainment instead of industrial development, in opposition to the universal experience of mankind, that the latter has always preceded the former.

It may be true that it has been advisable from the standpoint of American home politics to place the cart before the horse in this manner, but the consequences will be disastrous to the welfare of the Islands. Lord Curzon, in a recent speech on Indian affairs, has put the matter in a nutshell.

"I do not think," he said, "that the salvation of India is to be sought on the field of politics at the present stage of her development; and it is not my conception of statesmanship to earn a cheap applause by offering so-called boons for which the country is not ready, and for which my successors, and not I, would have to pay the price "

I propose now to compare the structure of the Philippine Government with that of some of the British colonies and dependencies in the Far East. The Government of the Philippine Islands rests with the following bodies, — the Municipal Councils, the Provincial Governments, the Philippine Commission, and the Congress of the United States. The Philippine Municipality corresponds to the New England township, and there are in the Islands 623 Municipalities, and in connection with them about 3600 Presidents, Secretaries, Treasurers, and Clerks, and about 8000 Councilors. All the municipal officials are elected by the people; and any male person of twenty-three years or over, having six months' residence in the Municipality, may vote, provided he held prior to August 13, 1898, any one of certain offices under the Spaniards, or owns five hundred pesos' worth of real estate, or pays thirty pesos or more in taxes, or speaks, reads, and writes English or Spanish.

The Philippine Municipality is simply an advanced type of the village government in Burma, Indo-China, and other Eastern countries, and represents an adjustment to the new conditions of the

old Spanish municipal organization. These Municipalities would be admirably suited to the needs of the country if the people possessed any political capacity, for, in theory, they raise and disburse money locally for local purposes connected with the daily life of the natives. But the account given of their work in the Philippine Commission's Report for 1903 is most discouraging. The Hon. William H. Taft, writing as Civil Governor, says "By law the Council of a Municipality is obliged to devote a certain part of the income of the towns to schools, but in too many instances it has developed that, in the anxiety to secure his own salary, the President has induced the Council and the Municipal Treasurer to appropriate from what are properly school funds to pay the salaries of municipal officials. The truth is that the Municipal Governments have not been as satisfactory in their operations as could be wished. By the misuse of the school funds, already referred to, the native school-teachers have been compelled to go without their salaries. The Municipal Police have also gone unpaid, and in many instances had not been made efficient because they were used as the personal servants of the Municipal Presidents."

It is when we turn to the Provincial Governments in the Philippines that we find the first radical and important difference between American methods and those of other countries. Under the Provincial Government Act provision is made for the formation of Provincial Boards consisting of a Provin-

cial Governor, elected for a two years' term by the Municipal Councilors of the Province in joint convention, and the Provincial Supervisor, and the Provincial Treasurer, appointed by the Philippine Commission. At the present time there are forty Provincial Governments in the Islands. The principal duties of these Governments are to levy taxes within certain limitations, to collect all taxes due in the Province, whether on account of Municipal, Provincial, or Insular levy, to direct the Provincial Public Works, and to supervise the Municipal Administration.

It is clear that the Provincial Government affords no real representation of the people, since two out of the three members of the Provincial Board are appointed by the Commission; and in this respect the Provincial Government embodies the central principle of Crown Colony Government, namely, that the control of affairs rests with appointed, and not with elected officials. But while the system, owing to its non-representative character, does nothing toward educating the people in self-government, it sacrifices the two great advantages of Crown Colony Government, for the element of personal influence is lost where a biennial election regulates the office of Governor, and the administrative authority is weakened when it resides in an official trinity instead of in the person of one man. There is thus change where permanence is most needed, and division of power where efficiency is best promoted by its concentration.

The existence of the Provincial Governments cannot be defended on political grounds, for they possess no political attributes; and in so far as they are administrative machines they perform functions which could be more efficiently and more economically discharged by a single Government official with powers similar to those of a Deputy-Commissioner in Burma. The difference between the ~~duties~~ performed by that official and those of the Provincial Boards in the Philippines lies in two points only. The Deputy-Commissioner is vested with judicial and magisterial powers, neither of which pertains to the Provincial Boards; and in regard to public works, he is relieved by the Public Works Department of the General Government of such duties as fall in that matter to the Provincial Boards. In each respect the advantage lies with the Burmese system.

In a country in a stage of development as low as that of the Philippines or Burma, where the political and administrative capacity of the people, if it can ever reach a useful proportion, must take many generations to develop, the addition of magisterial and judicial powers to the authority of the administrator facilitates the work of Government by simplifying the settlement of small civil disputes and the punishment of lesser crime, and serves a most useful purpose by bringing the chief official in charge of each district into close touch with the daily affairs of the people. As all the judicial and magisterial acts of the Deputy-Commissioner are

subject to the review of his administrative superiors, and may be made the subject of appeal to the higher courts, there is little danger of an abuse of power. In the matter of public works it is obvious that the Central Government, from its wider knowledge of the general plans for the opening up of the country and from the greater resources at its command, is better able than a Provincial Board to control and direct public works in conformity with some scheme of development laid down by a body of experts which the Provincial Governments could not afford to employ.

But it is in the higher branches of the administration that the structure of the Philippine Government exhibits its greatest weakness and its sharpest contrast to other dependent tropical governments. It is a universally recognized trait of tropical peoples that they yield their truest loyalty and their best aid in governmental matters when there is at the head of affairs one man in supreme power, whether he be King, Sultan, or Governor. This characteristic, so far from being due to the growth of white domination, is the product of uncounted centuries of native development, before white men ever came into contact with the native Governments; and in attempting to build a tropical Government on the theory that so-called "popular" institutions can ever recommend themselves as an ideal to the natives of a tropical country, the fact is overlooked or ignored that, in the thousands of years during which the natives of the tropics were left to them-

selves, to develop whatever political institutions appeared best suited to them, there was never established a single government which was not purely autocratic in character.

When we attempt to force democratic institutions or corporate government upon tropical peoples we simply assume, without any warrant whatever, that we know better than they do what form of government is best for them. Now not only does the government of the Philippines by a Commission violate the very first principle of successful administration in the tropics by dividing into seven parts the prestige and authority which the natives expect and desire to find in one man; but owing to the dependence of the Commission upon a Legislature thousands of miles away, already overburdened with its own affairs, and composed of men who, however able they may be, have neither the time nor the opportunity of gaining any first-hand information in regard to problems of tropical administration, that confidence which should exist between a people and their Government is noticeably lacking in the Philippines, where it is perfectly well understood by all intelligent people that the Commission governs the Islands only in so far as it is allowed to do so by Congress.

Shorn of any real authority to determine independently the measures best suited to the needs of the Islands, compelled to legislate with one eye on the American public and the other on Congress, driven to adopt an apologetic tone in regard to all

measures which are likely to arouse public sentiment in the States, the Philippine Commission can neither command the respect of the people nor carry on its own work according to the plain needs of the situation. It has been stated very frequently that as a matter of fact Congress has sanctioned every Act submitted to it by the Philippine Commission. This is perfectly true; but it is not due to Congress adjusting its mind to Philippine legislation, ~~but~~ to the Philippine Commission adjusting its legislation to the mind of Congress.

It is not easy to discern the motives which led to the adoption of a Commission as the governing power in the Philippines. In Cuba General Leonard Wood, as a one-man Government, had achieved one of the most brilliant administrative feats of which the history of white rule in the tropics bears record. It was a piece of work which can only be appreciated at its true value by those who are familiar with the extraordinary difficulties with which General Wood was confronted — difficulties immeasurably greater than those which have been encountered in the Philippines — and with the statesmanlike manner in which they were met and overcome.

With this striking success before it, it is difficult to understand why the Government of the United States should have afflicted the Philippine Islands with a Government which, in its structure, violates every principle that led to such excellent results in Cuba.

The Reports of the Philippine Commission show

very clearly the evil effects which result from the Congressional control over Philippine affairs. I select two typical instances — one affecting the relations between the Islands and the United States, the other referring to a question of local internal policy. In the Commission's Report for 1901 occurs the following passage: "If Congress reduce by fifty per cent. the United States duty on tobacco, hemp, and sugar . . . such generosity would much strengthen the bonds between the Filipino and American people, and it is earnestly recommended." In their Report dated November 20, 1902, the Commissioners say: "We respectfully urge the reduction of at least seventy-five per cent. of the Dingley rate of duties upon goods imported into the United States from the Philippine Islands." Finally, on December 23, 1903, the Commission recommends that Congress enact "legislation which shall reduce the tariff on sugar and tobacco imported from the Philippine Islands to not more than twenty-five per cent. of the present Dingley rates on tobacco and sugar imported from foreign countries." Notwithstanding these repeated appeals on a matter of the most vital importance to the Islands, Congress has neglected to relieve Philippine commerce of its most oppressive burden.

One of the most serious obstacles to the development of the Philippine Islands is the law passed by Congress in 1902 limiting the area of public land which may be sold to a corporation to 2500 acres. With a limit of this kind it is impossible to attract

capital for investment in agricultural enterprises, for, with the disadvantages of the country in the matter of transportation facilities and labor supply, it is only by operating on a large scale that any one can hope to secure a fair interest on his investment. The Commission has clearly recognized the necessity of greatly increasing the area of land that may be sold to corporations; and in their Report of November, 1902, and again in their Report of 1903, the Commissioners urge that the maximum be raised to 25,000 acres. This has not been done, and the facts represent a pernicious interference in a matter which is of purely local interest, which should be left to the discretion of those on the spot who are familiar with the local conditions.

The question of the authority of Congress to control the affairs of the Philippine Islands, and the use to which that authority is put, bring me to the last point I am able to discuss in regard to the structure of the Philippine Government. The reference of every Act of the Commission back to Congress is in itself a serious defect in the Philippine Government, for it hampers the Commission in its legislative work by introducing considerations other than those which relate to the simple need or efficacy of any particular measure; but the fact that Congress directs legislation affecting many of the internal affairs of the Islands is a much greater evil.

The practice of other nations is radically different in this respect from that of the United States.

I may take a British tropical country as a typical instance. In the Straits Settlements, for example, all measures for the government and administration of the Colony are passed by the Governor and his Council, and become law when approved by the Crown. This approval of the Crown is, in fact, a reference to the Colonial Office in London, the Crown always acting on the advice of its Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is evident that the reference of colonial laws to a Colonial Office rests on a principle exactly opposite to that on which they are referred to Congress, for the Colonial Office staff is made up of men who are specialists in matters of colonial administration, and the law is thus passed upon, not by men who have no knowledge of or interest in colonial affairs, but by men who have devoted themselves for years to the study of the very questions with which colonial legislation is concerned. Not only does this system insure a consideration of the law from the standpoint of colonial interests alone, but it enables the Governor to frame his laws in full security that they will be passed upon without any reference to home politics in the sovereign State.

Of all the questions which arise in regard to the control of tropical dependencies, the most important one, without doubt, is that of the selection of the officials who are to carry into effect the administrative measures of the Government.

It is far better, in fact, that the policy of the Government should be unsound and its execution

placed in the hands of capable men than that wise and benevolent measures should be committed to the hands of incompetent agents.

Sound character rather than brilliant intellect is the thing most to be desired in a colonial administrator; and the object which all examinations for a Colonial Civil Service should chiefly aim to secure is that the selected candidate should possess a liberal education such as is usually associated with breadth of view, a tolerant habit of mind, a reliable mental balance, and unimpeachable integrity.

The regulations of the Philippine Civil Service are based upon an entirely different view, and the examinations can have no effect whatever beyond insuring that each member of the service can read and write and has an education about equal to that of any high-school graduate.

In order to show that, as a matter of fact, the examination for the Philippine Civil Service, except in so far as it relates to languages, does little more than exclude persons who cannot read and write, I give the following extracts from the official manual, covering the examination for what is termed "the most difficult grade: "

Spell the words Philippines, qualify, principle, civilization

On April 7th a Manila merchant desires to obtain \$1440 For how much must he give his note due September 14, without interest, to obtain the required sum when discounted at a bank at the rate of 9 per cent per annum?

Name five American statesmen who died before 1850.

In what country is each of the following. Vera Cruz, Oporto, Madras, the Bosphorus, Lake Maracaybo?

The only other required subjects in which competitors are examined, except the language tests, are letter-writing, penmanship, and copying from plain copy and from rough draft.

Compare this with the following extracts from the syllabus of the Civil Service of India, showing the extent of work required in the preliminary examination in a few of the subjects which may be selected by the competitors :

English Language. A general acquaintance with the works of Chaucer, Langland, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Gray, Collins, Johnson, Goldsmith, Crabbe, Cowper, Campbell, Wordsworth, Scott, Byron, Keats, Shelley, Coleridge, Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, Cowley, Bunyan, Swift, DeFoe, Addison, Burke, and Macaulay

Mathematics Algebra, Euclid, Geometrical Conic Sections, Plane Trigonometry, Plane Analytical Geometry, Differential and Integral Calculus, Statics, Dynamics of a Particle, Hydrostatics, Geometrical Optics

Political Science Analytical Jurisprudence, Early Institutions, Theory of Legislation, Comparative Politics, History of Political Theories

Sanskrit Language and Literature Translation from Sanscrit into English and from English into Sanscrit, History of Sanscrit Literature, Sanscrit Grammar, and Vedic Philology

From the candidates who pass the preliminary examination there are selected, in the order of merit, such number as are required for the vacant

posts in the service. These selected candidates are put on probation for one year, and are then examined in the following compulsory subjects. Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code, the principal vernacular language of the Province to which the candidate is assigned, and the Indian Evidence Act and the Indian Contract Act. In addition the candidate must pass in one of the following subjects The Code of Civil Procedure, Hindu and Mohammedan Law, Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, History of British India, or the Chinese Language.

In the Introduction to his "Colonial Civil Service" Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell, Professor of the Science of Government at Harvard, has gone to the very root of the matter, and I cannot do better in bringing this chapter to a conclusion, than quote his words:

The Colonial Civil Service must therefore be a life-long career. The career must be begun young, and that for two reasons. First, because it is only in youth that new languages and a comprehension of strange civilizations can be acquired rapidly and well, and, second, because if the selection of colonial officials is made after men have begun to be established in life, those who have already shown an ability to succeed will not abandon an assured career for another in which, though the reward is great, success is problematical. The men who will apply will be those whose previous ventures in life have not been the most fortunate, and the Colonial Service cannot afford to accept the failures in other vocations.

During the few months I spent in the Philippines early this year I met a large number of Amer-

ican officials. I found them almost without exception well disposed toward the natives, and anxious to do their best for the good government of the country ; but the number of men among them who had any qualification such as one finds in the members of the Indian Civil Service was very small.

If the Philippine Civil Service is to become a really efficient corps of administrators, it can be accomplished only by making the entrance examination so severe that only men of exceptional capacity can pass it, and by making the service so attractive in the matter of pay and pensions that men of exceptional capacity will be anxious to compete for vacancies.

CHAPTER XII

THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

THE specific problem which presented itself to the American Government, when it decided to establish popular political institutions in the Philippine Islands, was the introduction into a community whose social and political conditions were the product of the superimposition of mediæval European ideas upon tropical tribalism, of an administrative system representing five centuries of growth beyond the mediæval stage, and depending for its success upon a homogeneity of which scarcely a trace existed in the Islands.

In carrying this policy into effect the Americans have been hampered by two serious adverse influences — one the complete saturation of the native mind with the Spanish idea of Colonial Government, the other the disorder which has prevailed in the Islands since the American occupation.

Perhaps the worst feature of Spanish rule in the Philippines was the pernicious influence exerted upon the civil administration by the monastic orders; and a perusal of the numerous documents relating to the insurrection of 1896 leaves the reader with a clear conviction that the greatest

evils of which the Filipinos complained were those which arose from the peculiar position in relation to the Government occupied by the so-called friars — members of one of the four Orders of Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans, and Recoletos — and that, in all probability, if there had been no friars there would have been no insurrection.

We are so accustomed to the spectacle of the Church and the State working in completely different spheres of action that it is difficult for us to realize the gross abuses which occur when members of religious orders are vested with wide administrative powers, when, in fact, the civil authority which regulates the temporal affairs of the people is wielded by the same person who controls their spiritual destinies

The evils which arose from this concentration of power in the person of the Spanish friar in the Philippines cannot be exaggerated. The attitude of the Filipinos on the subject is concisely expressed in the following extract from a letter written by Aguinaldo to General Otis: "These priests have been for a long time the absolute masters of the life, honor, and property of the Filipinos. For this reason it is a widely known and notorious fact, recognized by all foreigners who have studied Philippine affairs, that the primary causes of the Philippine revolution were the ecclesiastical corporations which have robbed the country, preventing progress and liberty."

Some idea of the complete mastery exercised over the Filipinos by the friars may be gathered from an enumeration of the functions which the friars performed in the scheme of administration. In the township which constituted his parish, the friar was Inspector of Primary Schools, President of the Health Board and of the Board of Charities, Inspector of Taxation, and President of the Board of Works. He was Censor of the Municipal Budget, Inspector of Prisons, President of the Board of Statistics, and a member of the Board for Partitioning Crown lands. He supervised the election of the police force, controlled the issue of the certificates of character with which each man had to be provided under the Spanish law, and, as censor of the plays, comedies, and dramas performed in the native dialects at the numerous fiestas, he exercised important power over the only channel through which, in the absence of newspapers, public opinion could be reached.

The determination of the American Government to effect a complete separation of Church and State in the Philippine Islands meant that the whole structure and working of the administration would have to be changed from top to bottom. It was to be expected under these circumstances that although, on the one hand, the liberation of the people from the rule of the friars would remove many causes of discontent, yet, on the other hand, the assumption of all the details of administration by American officials unacquainted with the Islands and their

people could scarcely fail to introduce other causes of dissatisfaction, resting, it is true, no longer upon official oppression strengthened by a very intimate knowledge of the people and their affairs, but upon the sudden introduction of new ideals and methods of Government with which the people were entirely unfamiliar, under the guidance of officials of foreign race and speech, whose best efforts would be seriously handicapped for many years by lack of local knowledge.

But the difficulties which have arisen as a result of the governmental methods of the Spaniards have been intensified by the failure of the Americans to preserve order in the Islands.

During the course of the war between the United States and the Philippine Republic which was established by Aguinaldo after he had been taken to the Islands by Admiral Dewey, the country was thrown into a deplorable state of disorder, far worse than need necessarily have resulted from the existence of hostilities, by the failure of the Americans to realize the cardinal importance of exacting no loyalty or adherence to American authority until they were fully prepared to afford ample protection to the natives against reprisals from their fellow countrymen who remained hostile to the United States.

Numerous instances are recorded of the occupation of towns and villages which were held only for a few days or a few weeks and were then abandoned to the revenge of the insurrectos.

The natives were thus placed in a very difficult position, one which it was highly impolitic for the Americans to force upon them. If they refused to assist the American troops in the way of food and other supplies, labor, and so on, they were immediately treated as insurgents; if they gave any assistance, and were afterwards deprived of the protection of an American garrison, insurrecto troops would attack the place, sack it, and kill a large number of its inhabitants.

Thus, while this method of warfare accomplished little towards the discouragement of those who were in open insurrection, it created the greatest bitterness among those who, either from necessity or from preference, were inclined to accept the American occupation.

If the Province of Manila had been taken as a nucleus and the American control gradually extended outwards over the whole of the Islands, the condition of order would have been infinitely better to-day than it actually is.

The prevalence of ladronism, or armed robbery and outrage, which has continued down to the present time, is a direct result of the lack of concentration in the American plans for the complete pacification of the Islands.

To gain an idea of the actual state of the Islands in the matter of public order, it is only necessary to consult the records of the Philippine police force.

^ The Insular police force consists of two bodies

of men, the Philippine Constabulary and the Philippine Scouts, each body recruited from the natives of the various Provinces and officered partly by natives, partly by Americans. The cost of the Constabulary falls on the Insular revenues ; that of the Scouts is paid by the United States.

The latest available figures in regard to the work of the police force are those for the fiscal year 1903, and they disclose a sufficiently discouraging state of affairs. During 1903 there were 5351 separate expeditions against outlaws, of which 357 resulted in engagements. The number of outlaws killed was 1185, and the number captured 2722.

When it is noted that these figures do not include the military operations of the army, which was engaged in serious fighting in Mindanao and Jolo, it is seen that the Islands were in a state of considerable disorder in 1903, and at the time of my visit to the Philippines early in 1904 there were no indications that conditions in this respect were improving.

In dealing with the economic affairs of the Philippines it is necessary to bear the above facts in mind, for a sudden change of administrative methods and a continued prevalence of disorder have exerted a marked influence upon the general condition of the Islands.

The value of merchandise exported from the Islands in the calendar year 1903 was \$32,000,000, gold, as compared with an average during the five-year period 1892-96 of \$22,000,000. These figures

represent a substantial increase, and, if allowed to stand without analysis, they constitute a very effective reply to the widespread complaints that the Islands are in a deplorable state of commercial depression.¹

If, however, these figures are subjected to a close scrutiny their significance is entirely changed. With an export trade of \$32,000,000 the Philippine Islands are called upon to pay \$12,500,000 for the expense of the Insular Government; in other words, for every \$100 worth of produce exported from the Islands the General Government costs \$40. If to this we add \$2,500,000 collected in the Islands for Municipal and Provincial Government, the ratio of expenditure on Government account to value of exports is raised to forty-six per cent.

That a country should have to pay forty-six per cent of the value of its total industrial product, excluding a comparatively insignificant internal trade in local produce, for the privilege of being governed, is obviously absurd; and although a dependent tropical Government is always expensive, from the fact that the administration is very much better than could arise naturally as a product of native activity, that of the Philippines is much more expensive than it should be.

¹ It is interesting to note in this connection that the value of exports for the fiscal year 1904 shows a decrease of three million dollars (gold) as compared with the value of exports for the fiscal year 1903

Comparing the cost of Government, on the basis adopted above, with that of five British dependencies in various parts of the tropics — Ceylon, Barbados, British Guiana, Trinidad, and the Federated Malay States — the average is twenty-seven per cent. as against forty-six per cent. in the Philippines

But this does not close the comparison. In the British dependencies every charge connected with the Government, whether of a civil or a military nature, is paid by the local Government; in the Philippines all military expenses are paid by the United States; and the Islands do not even pay for their own police, for the 5000 scouts who do police work, as a body supplementary to the Philippine Constabulary, are on the Army pay-roll. The fact is that if we add together the sums paid by the people of the Philippines and by the people of the United States in connection with the control and administration of the Philippine Islands, the total reaches a sum greater than that of the whole value of the export trade of the Islands.

The \$32,000,000 worth of exports from the Philippine Islands in 1903 was made up of \$22,000,000 worth of hemp, \$4,000,000 worth of copra, \$3,000,000 worth of sugar, and \$2,000,000 worth of tobacco and cigars, leaving only \$1,000,000 to cover the value of all other exports. Hemp and copra show a great increase during the past few years; tobacco and sugar a decrease, the exports of the latter having fallen from an average of

493,000,000 pounds for the five-year period 1891-95 to 166,000,000 pounds for 1904. Hemp and copra are crude products which do not require high cultivation or steady labor for their production, while sugar and tobacco need constant attention during their cultivation and the most careful treatment during their manufacture.

The growth of the Philippine export trade during the past few years is thus seen to have rested entirely on those products which are least dependent on labor conditions, and it is clear that the falling off in sugar and tobacco production, though due to some extent to other causes, is attributable chiefly to the unsatisfactory state of native labor.

The whole future of the Islands lies in the solution of the labor problem; and the outlook is not encouraging. A great deal has been written about the Filipino as a laborer, and the widest divergence of views exists as to whether he is a tolerably good workman, as tropical labor goes, or is an utterly unreliable and worthless creature as far as any development of the Islands is to rest on his efforts.

An examination of these conflicting opinions shows that, with very few exceptions, all favorable comments on Philippine labor come from the towns, the unfavorable ones from the country; and the fact is of great importance, for it lies at the root of the whole labor question in the Islands. In the towns, Philippine labor is chiefly employed by the

Government, the Army, and transportation concerns, that is to say, by persons who are not engaged in producing anything for sale, and in the country districts the employment is agricultural. It is clear that the former class of employers is placed in an entirely different relation to Philippine labor from the latter class. The Government and the Army can afford to pay an absurdly high rate of wages because the money wherewith to pay the laborers is the product of taxation and not of the labor itself; the transportation concerns, like the Manila-Dagupan Railway, can pay very high wages because they can adjust their rates to meet their expenses.

But the agriculturalist is in a very different position. He is producing something for sale in the European or American market in competition with other producers of similar commodities; and any considerable rise in the rate of wages makes it impossible for him to conduct his business at a profit, for the price obtained for his product is not regulated by the labor rates of the Philippines, but by the general rate of wages in all countries producing the same class of commodities. It is clearly impossible for a sugar or tobacco grower in the Philippines, who must pay from thirty to fifty cents as daily wages for his labor, to compete successfully with the planter of Java or Sumatra, who pays from fifteen to twenty-five cents a day. The effect of the high wages paid by the non-producing employers in the Philippines has not only raised the

rate for agricultural labor to an impossible figure, but it has absolutely drained the country districts of their best labor, for in the Philippines, as elsewhere, the average laborer would rather work in or near a town than in the country for the same rate of pay.

Even some of the Government works in the country districts cannot secure a satisfactory supply of labor, though abnormally high rates, far beyond what private employers can pay, are offered.

The engineer in charge of the Benguet Road, a Government undertaking, has given, in his annual report for 1903, a description of Philippine labor which I should say, from my own observation, might be applied fairly to all Philippine labor outside the towns. "In general terms," he says, "the native laborer has proved himself on his work to be idle, shiftless, and stolidly indifferent, approaching his work with no degree of intelligence or judgment, of a deceptive and treacherous character, wantonly careless and frequently maliciously destructive, uninterested in and indifferent to his work, unwilling to learn and impossible to teach. . . . The Filipino has proved himself more expensive than white labor, and, one might say, is practically valueless."

The present labor position is this, that of the total population of the Islands there may be found, perhaps, five per cent. who are fairly good laborers ; but these laborers have been drawn into the service of the non-producing employers by the attraction

of high wages and town life, leaving in the country districts only a very small number of very poor laborers who demand a higher rate of wages than could have been obtained a few years ago by the best labor in the Islands.

The suggestion that unskilled Chinese labor should be introduced into the Islands has met with violent opposition in the United States ; and native opinion in the Philippines is divided on the question. It is quite useless in this place to go into the subject on its merits,¹ for there is no evidence in any of the documents issued by those people in the States who are opposed to the measure, that any knowledge of Chinese labor or of the Philippine Islands is considered an essential to the formulation and expression of very decided opinions on the subject.

Although the Philippine Commission officially declares against the importation of unskilled Chinese labor, two native members of the Commission and one American member assured me that they were convinced that Chinese immigration was the only hope for any development of the Islands ; that they were in favor of it ; but that the utter futility of expressing an official view to that effect was so well appreciated that they had made no stand in the matter.

That the natural resources of the Philippine Islands can never be made accessible for the use

¹ I have discussed the question of imported contract labor at great length in my *Tropical Colonization* .

of mankind without the aid of imported labor is a simple fact which rests on the universal experience of centuries of work in the tropics; the contrary view, in so far as it rests on anything that has any bearing whatever on the welfare of the Philippine Islands, is based on a fantastic estimate of what a Filipino could do if he were something which he is not, but which, it is hoped without a shred of reason, he may some day become, — a steady-working, industrious citizen.

The probable effects of the introduction of unskilled Chinese labor are concisely presented in Professor Jenks's admirable Report to the Secretary of War, dated 1902: "It is believed that such a measure would result, with here and there an individual exception, not at all to the disadvantage of the Filipino, but in the long run decidedly to his benefit through improved business conditions in the Islands, which would furnish to him not merely a better market for his produce, but also a better opportunity for engaging in the kind of work for which he is best fitted and which most closely accords with his tastes."

In regard to the admission of skilled Chinese labor, the Philippine Commission has placed itself on record as being in favor of its admission under proper restrictions. It is perhaps needless to add that Congress has not given the Commission the authority which it asked for in this matter.

I may illustrate the effect of Chinese exclusion in the Philippines by relating an occurrence which

was described to me by one of the Philippine Commissioners. A capitalist came some time ago to Manila and approached the Commission under the following circumstances. he wished to establish at Manila a great shipbuilding and repairing industry, he wanted to build a dry dock capable of taking the largest ship afloat, and to erect an extensive plant for all kinds of marine engineering. As there are very few skilled workmen in the Philippines capable of doing the work which this man required, he asked permission to bring in several thousand Chinamen, giving a bond that he would take them out of the country after a certain time. He promised to employ a Filipino to work with each Chinaman, and to dismiss the latter and take him out of the country as soon as the Filipino was able to do the Chinaman's work.

He pointed out that at the end of a few years a great industry would have been established and some thousands of Filipinos trained as skilled mechanics.

He was informed that the law would not allow him to bring in his Chinamen; and he accordingly betook himself and his capital elsewhere.

Incredible as this appears to be, if one is asked to believe that the United States has the welfare of the Philippines at heart, it is only in keeping with the whole attitude of the Government in regard to the development of the Islands.

Since the American occupation many hundreds of people have been to the Philippines, anxious to

invest capital there in mining, timber, or other industries. To-day there are not half a dozen such persons to be found in the Islands. They have been driven away either by the existence of laws which, to use the expression of the Philippine Commission itself, are "practically prohibitory upon such enterprises," or else by the cry that in seeking to invest capital in the Islands and give employment to such Filipinos as care to work they are trying to exploit the Islands.

The question is a very much wider one than the mere development of the Islands. It amounts practically to this, that unless foreign capital is encouraged to come to the country to build up industries, one of two things must happen - either the whole scale of Government expenditure must be cut down until the cost of administration is somewhere near the capacity of the natives in their present state of industry to pay, or else a considerable proportion of the cost of Government must be borne by the United States, for it is impossible for the country to continue to bear the rate of taxation which it is now called on to support unless a great increase takes place in the industrial output of the Islands.

One may argue round and round a situation of this kind and predict all manner of evil from the introduction of a thrifty and hard-working population, and all manner of good from the imminent translation of the Filipino, through education, into a sturdy, industrious person, but nothing can obscure the fact that if the Filipino is to be given

good government some one must pay for it, and that there are no indications whatever that under the present policy the Islands can find the money under any system of taxation which stops short of extortion.

From the standpoint of an investigator who desires to inform himself accurately of the condition of the Philippines and of their Government the Reports of the Philippine Commission, on which he must depend for much of his information, are in some respects most unsatisfactory. The Report for 1903 covers about 3000 pages. It does not contain any general itemized statement of the whole cost of the government, showing the amounts spent on Public Works, and other important items of expenditure. There is, indeed, a "Recapitulation of Disbursements," but even after one has reduced its various items to a common currency (some being given in United States currency, some in Mexican), and added together the disbursements on account of the fiscal year 1903 and those on account of previous fiscal years (which are given separately), very little is disclosed as to the real nature of the expenditure.

If one refers back to the original tables on which the Recapitulation is based, it is only to be confronted with a four-column statement in two currencies, and to find that an unexplained item, "Contingent Expenses," conceals everything which the student is most anxious to discover. For instance, under the heading "U. S. Philippine Commission"

(Report for 1903, part 3, page 431), it is seen that \$21,067 United States currency and \$189,924 Mexican currency were disbursed in 1903 on account of the fiscal year 1903, and \$26,184 United States currency and \$156 Mexican currency on account of prior fiscal years, or a total of \$47,251 United States currency and \$190,080 Mexican currency. But of these sums no less than \$24,096 United States currency and \$60,022 Mexican currency are lumped under the heading "Contingent Expenses."

On the following page of the Report, under the heading "Bureau of the Insular Treasurer," the total expenditure appears as \$26,338 United States currency and \$229,795 Mexican currency, and of these sums \$25,253 United States currency and \$103,623 Mexican currency have no other explanation than "Contingent Expenses." This continues through the whole of the financial statement, and reduces the Report in this matter to a mere burlesque of an account of the Government expenditures.

I cannot go into the character of the Reports at greater length at present, suffice it to say that in a long familiarity with the Reports of many Governments I have never seen one which says so much and tells so little as that of the Auditor of the Philippine Islands.¹

¹ Since this chapter was written Congress has passed legislation which should have the effect of improving the economic conditions of the Islands to some extent. The Philippine Gov-

ernment has been authorized to guarantee interest on bonds to be issued to aid the construction of railroads , and also to incur a bonded debt of \$5,000,000 for public improvements , and the Municipalities of the Islands have been authorized to borrow money for use in Public Works up to 5 per cent of the assessed value of property in each Municipality.

CHAPTER XIII

AMERICAN POLICY IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

THE corner-stone of American policy in the Philippines is education.

A perusal of the Reports of the Philippine Commission discloses the fact that, whilst the question of education in the Islands has been approached most frequently from the point of view of the political development of the people, it has also been felt that every problem in connection with the control and development of the Islands would find its solution in the establishment of a complete system of public instruction.

In the Report of 1900 the Commission says, "It is evident that the fitness of any people to maintain a popular form of Government must be closely dependent upon the prevalence of knowledge and enlightenment among the masses."

The idea is carried still further by the Hon. Wm. H. Taft in a recent article in "The Churchman." "The chief difference," he says, "between their [the English and the Dutch] policy and ours, in the treatment of tropical people, arises from the fact that we are seeking to prepare the people under our guidance and control for popular self-government. We are attempting to do this, first, by

primary and secondary education offered freely to all the Filipino people. . . . Our chief object is to develop the people into a self-governing people, and in doing that popular education is, in our judgment, the first and most important means."

Before proceeding to describe what has been done in the Philippines in the way of education, I must point out that, as a matter of fact, there is not a single British Colony in the tropics which is not provided with a system of public instruction, and that so far from the extent of educational work in the Philippines being extraordinary and unique, as Mr. Taft leaves his readers to infer, there are a number of British Colonies in which the proportion of school enrollment to the total population is higher than it is in the Philippines

I find myself unable to agree with the opinion quoted above that education is the first and most important step in the development of the capacity of self-government in a people.

Apart from the obvious fact that the establishment of peace and order is the first duty of any Government as well as an indispensable preliminary to all constructive administration, this theory ignores one of the most universal traits of human evolution as disclosed in the history of the growth of institutions, namely, that political progress has depended on industrial rather than on educational development.

I doubt whether a single instance can be adduced from the whole material of human history in which

a popular movement for increased self-government has arisen as the result of the spread of education.

It is only necessary to refer to the three great political movements of modern times — Parliamentary Reform in England, the French Revolution, and the American War of Independence — to show that economic and not educational factors are the primary elements in political evolution. *

In a word, you may find a high state of industry where advanced political and educational conditions do not exist; but the world does not furnish a single instance of a country in a low state of industry in which any real, substantial progress in education and politics has taken place.

Without wishing to detract in the smallest degree from the just value of education I feel that to place it before order and industry in the programme of Government is to undertake a dangerous experiment for which no hope of success can be based on the past experience of mankind.

Having decided that the first need of the Philippine Islands was a school system, the Government was confronted with the problem of providing instruction for many thousands of children speaking a number of different native dialects, and of establishing normal schools for the training of native teachers many of whom possessed but an indifferent knowledge of English.

The problem was solved in the most radical manner by adopting English as the only language of instruction. This step was taken on two general

grounds, one that a common language was necessary in order that there might be developed in the Islands an effective public opinion capable of universal expression, the other that "English is the language of free government; it is the language of Anglo-Saxon freedom; it is the language in which they [the Filipinos] can read the history of the hammering out by our ancestors of the heritage of liberty which we have had conferred on us."

The important place which education occupies in the administrative scheme in the Philippines may be gathered from the fact that one fifth of the whole public revenue of the Islands is expended on public instruction.

The expenditure amounts, in round figures, to \$3,000,000 annually, and this provides for about seven hundred American teachers, distributed in more than three hundred towns throughout the Islands, and for upwards of three thousand Filipino teachers, working in about two thousand schools.

Taking the population of the Islands at eight millions it is seen that there is at present one teacher for every two thousand inhabitants, whereas under the Spaniards there was but one teacher to every four thousand.

The school enrollment, according to the latest available figures, is 263,000, with an attendance of 70 per cent. In other words, about 2.3 per cent. of the total population of the Islands is attending school.

It is interesting to compare these figures with

those relating to education in a few British Colonies in various parts of the tropics. The proportion of the total population attending school in Barbados is 7 per cent., in British Guiana, 2 per cent., in Jamaica, 6 per cent., in Ceylon, 5 per cent., in Mauritius, 3 per cent.

More important than the spread of primary education throughout the Islands is the establishment at Manila of a Normal School with its useful branch the Teachers' College, for it is in these institutions that there must be developed the effective teaching force of the future.

Experience in educating tropical races has shown that although a European staff can turn out a small number of brilliant pupils the slow work of leading a native race along the path of instruction can be most efficiently performed by native teachers.

In addition to the general scheme of education outlined above, there have been established night schools, high schools, normal institutes, a school of telegraphy, and a nautical school; and it is intended to organize an industrial department in connection with each of the provincial schools of secondary instruction.

Every effort is being made in the Philippines to give the people whatever advantages may be attached to a wide diffusion of educational facilities; but when it is reflected how small a proportion of the Filipinos can ever be utilized outside the field of manual labor until a great increase in industry has provided work of a higher character, it is at

least open to doubt whether the present attempt to increase the literacy of the people is not premature.

Perhaps the most striking commentary which has been published upon the educational work in the Philippines is that contained in the Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction for the year 1902:

"The people have been accustomed under their earlier instruction to regard education as a means of putting themselves in positions where manual labor is not required. Hitherto the Filipino youth has looked upon the instruction of the schools as a means of preparing him to become a teacher, a civil officer, a clerk, a lawyer, a physician, or a priest. That phase of education through which the young man expects to become a skilled workman has lain almost entirely below his horizon. Whatever progress, therefore, is made in industrial education must be made in opposition to a strong prejudice, but this prejudice is not thought of as invincible."

I may add in this connection that in fifteen years of travel in tropical countries in which education has been in operation for more than a generation, I have observed no indication that the spread of instruction has had the effect of making the natives appreciate the dignity of manual labor. In fact for every skilled workman turned out by the industrial schools in the tropics the schools of general instruction have cast upon the country twenty men who from the very fact of their education refuse absolutely to have anything to do with any employment which involves manual labor.

But the question of education in the Philippines must be approached not only from the standpoint of the ultimate advantages which its advocates claim are to result through its instrumentality, but also from the point of view of its present cost and the ability of the people to bear it; and we are thus brought face to face with the problem of taxation in the Islands.

In discussing this matter we are not hampered by the necessity of discounting the oppressiveness of a present burden by a presentation of conjectural advantages in the future, as we are when the simple question of education *per se* is the subject of our inquiry.

Taxation must always be judged by two standards, first by the relation which it bears to the wealth and industry of the country, second by the return which the people get for the money they pay out in taxes.

In a previous chapter I have dealt with the relation which taxation in the Islands bears to the wealth and industry of the country, and have shown that it is oppressively high. We may turn, therefore, to the question of what the people of the Philippine Islands are getting in return for their contributions to the Insular Treasury.

It is a sound principle of Colonial finance in tropical countries that as large a proportion as possible of the total taxation should be devoted to reproductive expenditure, that is to say, to works which will either increase the industrial activity of the country and thus lighten the burden of taxation by

increasing the wealth of the people, or which will eventually pay for themselves and form a valuable asset of the Government

To the former class of works belong such undertakings as road construction, irrigation, forest conservancy, and the construction of good market places; to the latter the installment of water-supply systems, gas or electric lighting, and telephone service, and the construction of railroads, where these things are not undertaken by private enterprise.

In order to disclose the general character of the public expenditures in the Philippines I may compare them with those of the Federated Malay States.

In the Philippines out of a total expenditure of \$31,000,000 (Mexican) about 10 per cent. was devoted in 1903 to reproductive work. In computing this sum I have included all items under the headings Forestry, Agriculture, Public Lands, Roads, Bridges, Public Improvements, and Government Laboratories.

The total expenditure of the Federated Malay States in 1903 was \$16,000,000 (Mexican), and of this sum 56 per cent. was spent on works of the character stated in the foregoing paragraph.

If the principles on which the expenditures are apportioned in the Philippines differ completely from those which guide the Government of the Federated Malay States, the methods by which the revenue is raised in those countries show a still greater divergence of policy.

The total ordinary revenue of the Philippine

Islands during 1903, exclusive of refundable items, was \$28,000,000 (Mexican), and of this sum no less than \$22,500,000, or 80 per cent., was raised from Customs duties, almost the whole burden falling on merchandise imported for consumption by the natives.

In the Federated Malay States the public revenue for 1903 was \$22,672,000 (Mexican), of which \$12,000,000 represented Customs duties, chiefly export duty on tin; \$3,600,000 receipts from Government Railways; and \$3,600,000 licenses for the manufacture and sale of opium, for the sale of spirits, for the right to keep Chinese gambling-houses, and to conduct the business of pawnbroking.

As Chinamen constitute the whole working force of the tin-mines and are the sole patrons of the opium-shops and gambling-saloons, and almost the only consumers of spirits in the Federated Malay States, it is clear that the greater part of the public revenue of the States, exclusive of railway receipts (of which, however, the Chinaman pays a very large proportion), is derived from the taxation of tin (the great exportable product of Chinese labor) and of the personal vices of the Chinese population.

The *pros* and *cons* of taxing opium and gambling I have discussed in a previous chapter. I am concerned at present with the effect which the presence of Chinese laborers in a country has upon the incidence of taxation; and it is apparent that the effect in the Federated Malay States has been to leave the native Malay practically untaxed whilst

a revenue has been raised sufficient to give the country law and order, unexcelled means of communication, and a most efficient administration.

It may be said that revenue cannot be raised in the Philippines as it is raised in the Malay States because Chinese immigration is not sanctioned in the Islands ; but this simply brings us back to the bald fact that the administration of the Philippines is conducted at an expense entirely out of proportion to the ability of the people, in their present state of industry, to bear, and that the Federated Malay States afford an example of what the Chinaman can do to help a country out of an *impasse* of this kind.

Of all the work which has been done by the United States in the Philippines that which is most deserving of praise, alike from the standpoint of policy and of performance, is the work of the Board of Health of the Philippine Islands and City of Manila.

In carrying out the task of checking the spread of preventable disease and of introducing sanitary methods of living, the Board of Health has been hampered by almost every difficulty which could be expected to detract from the efficiency of its efforts.

On the one hand it has been hampered by want of funds and by inadequate or unsatisfactory laws, on the other hand by a general opposition on the part of the natives to the introduction of all sanitary improvements, an opposition which can only be

appreciated by those who have had occasion to observe the combined effect of the suspicion, distrust, superstition, and fatalism with which all tropical races meet any attempt to change their personal habits.

Apart from the difficulties which are due to the above causes innumerable obstacles to sanitary progress are to be found in the physical conditions by which the people are surrounded. These are naturally most unfavorable in the towns. In Manila, for instance, there is neither a proper system of sewerage nor an adequate supply of uncontaminated water.

The present housing of the people presents its own peculiar problems to the sanitary engineer. In the cities the houses are of one of two types, either loosely constructed buildings of light material, or masonry houses very solidly built in order to withstand the shock of earthquakes. The objections to the former class of houses are that they are highly inflammable, are far too crowded both as to the number built on a given area and as to the number of persons inhabiting them, and finally that as they are built on posts which raise them above the ground there is a strong temptation, which is never successfully resisted, to use the space under the house for a garbage heap.

The solid masonry houses are perhaps open to even greater objection. They are badly lighted, badly ventilated, and they are more overcrowded and with worse results than the lighter structures.

The work which has been done by the Board of Health in face of the difficulties I have described above deserves the highest commendation; and it has only been achieved by the loyal cooperation of all the staff and by the most severe and unremitting toil in the teeth of a most discouraging indifference, not to say hostility, of the mass of the people in whose interest it has been performed.

The death rate of the Islands has been greatly reduced by the application of scientific checks to the spread of disease; the City of Manila has been rescued to a considerable extent from its former state of inconceivable filthiness; plans are being made for giving the City a good water supply; and the question of a radical treatment of the sewerage problem is under consideration.

That many things are still lacking, notably hospital accommodation, is recognized by everybody; but the Board of Health may well feel proud of the revolution it has already effected in sanitary matters.

I pass now to the last and probably the most important question of Philippine administrative policy which I can discuss in the present volume — the question of roads.

In a tropical country no single feature of practical administration is so sure an index to the general condition of the country as the extent and character of the roads.

It may be said that from the days of the Romans down to the present time the most successful col-

onizers, whether success be measured by the advantages accruing to the sovereign State or those which fall to the native population, have been those who have made the best roads.

Without its splendid roads, many of which are still in use in Europe, the Colonial Empire of Rome could not have held together for a decade. British India without its roads would be little better off to-day than it was a century ago under its native rulers, when the recurrent famines were left to work complete destruction in the affected areas because the lack of roads made it impossible to transport grain from one district to another, and when from the same cause the internal trade of the country was hampered almost to extinction.

The reduction of India to a state of peace and order unknown in its pre-British history, the suppression of dacoity and the immense development of industrial prosperity in Burma, the astounding growth of the Federated Malay States, the great commerce of Java, the recent improvement in French Indo-China, may be attributed more to the influence of good roads than to any other single agency.

Deprive a tropical country of its roads and you produce an effect comparable only to that which would follow in the United States the destruction of every mile of railroad.

It is remarkable, therefore, that in the Philippines the Government should have allowed five years to pass without doing anything of importance

in the direction of covering the country with good highways.

With the exception of the few miles of roads constructed by the Army during the military occupation, and the extravagantly expensive Benguet Road, which serves merely to give easy access to the sanitarium at Baguio, I doubt whether the American occupation of the Islands has resulted in the opening up of a hundred miles of serviceable roads available for wheeled traffic at all seasons of the year.

This neglect is the more remarkable from the fact that it must have been clear to the Government almost from the commencement of its operations that the two great needs of the country — peace and prosperity — could never be attained until good roads facilitated the movements of troops and the transportation of commercial commodities.

A survey of the whole course of American administration in the Philippines leaves the student of comparative colonization with a few very clear and definite impressions of American colonial methods.

That there has been an honest desire on the part of the American Government to do what has appeared to be in the best interests of the Filipino people, there can be as little doubt as that the majority of the American officials in the Islands have been animated by a similar ambition.

But, from lack of experience and from a refusal to attach any importance to the centuries of experi-

ment through which the colonizing nations have passed in their relations with tropical Asiatics, almost every Government measure has had as its foundation the assumption that what is good for the United States is good for the Philippine Islands.

Thus a high tariff, an extended system of education, the exercise of political rights by the greatest possible number of the people, the exclusion of contract labor, and the application of the American navigation laws, all of which appear to have the approval of the majority of the American people as component parts of their home policy, have been transferred wholesale to a country which is separated from the country of the ruling power by every circumstance of climate, race, and civilization.

The task which has been undertaken is, in fact, to make an American out of a Filipino; and it is a task for which few people who have had any personal acquaintance with tropical races will be prepared to predict even a moderate degree of success.

It is not at all necessary, in order to discredit this attempt, to paint the Filipino as a mortal of a lower type than the American; it is not a question of inferiority or of superiority, but of difference.

To expect that American institutions can find a permanent home in the Philippines, after the control of affairs has passed out of American hands, is to disregard every natural force which has contributed since the beginning of the world to the differentiation of racial types.

That the Filipino is capable, if left to himself and protected from outside interference, of developing in the course of time some such Government and civilization as may be found to-day in the States of Central America is a theory on which opposing opinions may reasonably be entertained by honest and competent observers;¹ but that he can remain in his present geographical environment, free from the constant oversight of a non-tropical race, and yet become, even in the course of ages, a creature of schools, ballot-boxes, and free political institutions, is beyond any flight of an imagination which is checked by the smallest knowledge of tropical life.

If a disinterested critic of political and administrative measures confines himself to a destructive analysis of his material, he lays himself open to the charge of having accomplished an easy, useless, and offensive task; if, on the other hand, he proceeds to a constructive review of his facts, he may scarcely hope to avoid the appearance of assuming an unwarrantable authority in affairs which concern him only as an observer.

It appears to me that it is the duty of the critic to accept the latter alternative, for constructive

¹ Personally I see no reason to suppose that the Filipinos if left to themselves could not establish and carry on a government as good as that of Venezuela, for instance, but that under such a government they would be very much worse off than they now are under American control there can be no possible doubt

criticism possesses this pleasing characteristic, that, even in its most mediocre form, it may contain the germ of improvement.

Whilst claiming no greater authority for my opinion than is commonly accorded to any one who has spent a number of years in the close study of any subject, I venture to add the following paragraphs as a proper sequel to what has gone before.

With the destruction of the Spanish authority in the Philippine Islands, the responsibility for the protection of the Islands and for the establishment of a stable internal Government devolved upon the United States.

That neither of these responsibilities could have been discharged by handing over the Islands to Aguinaldo and his masters is perfectly clear to almost everybody who has the most ordinary familiarity with Far Eastern affairs in general, and with the conditions of the Philippines in particular.

The only kind of Government which Agumaldo could have established would have been a military despotism masquerading under the guise of a Republic, and for a large proportion of the population it would have been as much a foreign domination as the government of the Islands by the United States. That such a Government would have been corrupt and inefficient, notwithstanding the presence of a small number of brilliant and well-educated men, can scarcely be doubted in view of what is now known of the political capacity of the Philippine people.

The significance of this lies not in the disorder and suffering which would have followed the establishment of a purely native Government, but in the fact that the certain failure to protect foreign interests in the Islands would have involved the Government in disputes with the Great Powers, which would have made it impossible to maintain the territorial integrity of the Republic.

It has been suggested that this danger could have been averted through the assumption by the United States of a Protectorate over the Islands. But if the Protectorate was to mean anything beyond an impossible guarantee of responsibility for the acts of the Republic, whether or not they involved serious breaches of international law, it would have to mean that the United States should enjoy, in return for its own assumption of the responsibility, so large a measure of control as would assure the avoidance of international complications; but this would raise the Protectorate as a mere guarantee of territorial integrity into a protectorate of internal control, and the object of giving the Filipinos the effective management of their own affairs would be defeated.

The demand which has been made in some quarters in the United States for immediate Philippine independence is based upon several serious misconceptions, easily accounted for in the case of persons who are prepared to decide the fate of a country without any first-hand knowledge of it or of its inhabitants.

It has been assumed that the people of the Philippine Islands, as a whole, desired independence at the time of Aguinaldo's insurrection, and that they still desire it. The results of my own observations in the Islands (which, I am aware, differ from those of some investigators, whilst agreeing with those of others) lead me to the conclusion that this is not the case. Ninety-five per cent. of the people of the Islands have never had the smallest wish for independence, and the fact that they fought under leaders who used "Independence" for their battle-cry simply means that the small body of men who engineered the revolution exercised over the mass of the people that control which in the circumstances led to the creation of an army, and would have led in the event of success to the establishment of a despotic rule based upon the immemorial habit of the tropical native to do what he is told by his own native bosses.

The cry of "Independence" which was raised in the Islands after Aguinaldo landed in 1898 was largely of American manufacture, and it rests today on an American propaganda. I was unable to find that it had any hold whatever upon the people at large, and it appears to be confined to a small number of persons who are as representative of the Filipino people at large as the occasional man who would make the United States a monarchy, or the United Kingdom a republic, is representative of American and British sentiment.

. In regard to the fitness of the Filipinos for self-

government there appears to be an opinion in some quarters, if I may judge from the mass of material which has passed under my hand, that because the Islands have produced, entirely through foreign influence and education, a few men of high intellectual capacity, and because many of the native employees of the Insular Government show themselves capable of good work under American direction, the element thus known to exist could carry on a Government if left to itself.

Nothing could be farther from a true interpretation of the facts. Efficient government does not rest upon intellect but upon character, and it is in the high qualities of responsibility, unselfish devotion to the common interest, and executive ability that the Filipino is most lamentably deficient.

Writing without any reference to the attitude of political parties in the United States, the measures which appear to me to be immediately necessary to insure the welfare of the Philippines are these:

1. The free entry of all Philippine products into the United States.

2. The importation into the Islands, under proper restrictions and safeguards, of such numbers of Chinese and Japanese skilled and unskilled laborers as may be desired by the Government or by responsible private parties.

3. The opening up of the country by means of good roads.

4. The encouragement of American capital by

granting liberal terms to miners, planters, and others willing to invest their money in industrial enterprises.

5. The abolition of the Philippine Commission and the Provincial Governments, and the substitution in their place of a Governor-General, who, with the aid of an appointed Council composed of Americans and Filipinos, should be empowered to legislate for all the internal affairs of the Islands, subject to the veto of some authority in the United States.

6. The creation of an Insular Office in Washington, which should be run on non-political lines similar to those of the Army and Navy Departments.

7. The transference of the control of all Public Works, except such as fall to the Municipalities, to the Insular Government.

Nature has done all she can to make the Philippine Islands one of the most fertile spots in the world, one full of the richest possibilities. Until their natural resources are developed, until a healthy activity takes the place of the prevailing lethargy of their people, the Islands can never hope to have any political growth.

It is impossible to confer independence on a people as one would present them with a public library or a drinking fountain. If the ground is not prepared, if the people are not fit for self-government, the gift of independence simply means the handing over of the country to the despotic

rule of a small coterie of picked men, who, from their foreign education and training and their race identity with the natives, would find it easy to establish an ascendancy over the masses, which would keep them in a state of political and economic slavery.

Whatever the future may hold for the Filipinos, it is certain that to-day they have scarcely taken the first step on that long road of industry and self-discipline which alone leads to a sane and wholesome national life.

NOTE. At the moment this volume goes to press the appearance of the final volumes of the Philippine Census enables me to reproduce in Appendix C some of the more important data relating to the Islands

I find nothing in this new material which leads me to modify anything I have written in the foregoing chapters. I wish to draw the reader's attention to the Table of Literacy, No. 5 in Appendix C.

My statements in *The Atlantic Monthly* and in *The Outlook* to the effect that ninety per cent of the population of the Philippines was illiterate (i. e. could not read and write any language) have been severely criticised; and I have been accused of gross ignorance of the facts.

The Census shows that as a matter of fact my estimate was within four per cent of absolute accuracy. It appears that of the total population of the Philippines 86.8 per cent cannot read and write *any* language, and that even if we leave out of the calculation all the wild tribes, to the number of 647,740 persons, and all civilized Filipinos under ten years of age, the proportion of illiterates is eighty per cent.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION

IN the introductory chapter I dealt briefly with such general features of tropical civilization as appeared to form a proper subject of consideration before embarking upon a study of some of the specific problems of European and American administration in the Far East; and in bringing this volume to a conclusion it may not be out of place if I attempt to trace in the mass of facts which have passed under our notice some underlying unity of purpose, some coherent principle of action, some broad, general effects, as the cause or consequence of the activities which have formed the material of our inquiry.

The origin of Western rule in the various countries of Southeastern Asia suggests a number of interesting comparisons and analogies.

In regard to the possessions of the four Powers which have been discussed in this volume the motives which lay behind their peaceful acquisition, or the circumstances which led to their conquest, place England and Holland in one category, the United States and France in another.

At the time when England and Holland acquired their first Asiatic possessions, in the seventeenth

century, the internal conditions of each country were such as to make colonial expansion a natural development of the forces which had been generated by the progress of discovery and the growth of commerce since the Middle Ages.

Each country found itself face to face with serious economic problems arising out of the rigid monopoly of tropical trade which had been established by Spain and Portugal.

For the Dutch this monopoly meant nothing less than national ruin from the moment when Portugal passed under the Spanish Crown, and Spain, as part of her war policy, closed to Dutch ships the great Oriental trade on which the economic welfare of Holland depended.

In England the conditions were not less favorable to the idea of over-sea expansion. Already the country was over-populated in relation to the agricultural and industrial methods of the time, and an exaggerated idea of the wealth and prosperity of Spain and Portugal fostered the belief that in tropical commerce lay the economic salvation of the Kingdom.

To these causes of the commencement of an English trade with Asia may be added a national characteristic common to all peoples whose home is an island domain or one which has occupied, during any considerable period of the national growth, an isolated position in relation to the general movement of human events, namely, a strong resentment against any claim of superior or even of equal rights

made by any foreign power in regard to matters touching the interests, real or imaginary, of the nation.

The existence of this characteristic as a great national force may be traced with the greatest distinctness in the events of the past century. Isolated China regards herself as the mistress of the world, and she has fought half a dozen wars in support of the idea; insular Japan has been quick to resent the interference of Russia in matters which affect Japanese interests on the mainland; the United States, which was practically isolated from Europe until within the memory of the present generation, has given the world the Monroe Doctrine as an expression of her intolerance of European influence in the affairs of the American continent.

The inordinate development of this characteristic in insular and in isolated countries is due to a simple cause. The inhabitants of such countries have never been compelled, as have the natives of continental Europe, to live in intimate contact with other people having national traits and national policies equally developed with their own, and possessed of powers of action immediately applicable to any purpose of the national will; and the absence of this contact has relieved the insular and isolated countries from the necessity of constantly adjusting their policies to the standard of what they can do rather than to that of what they wish to do.

In other words, they have never been compelled to adopt give-and-take as the basis of their actions,

and they have, therefore, had little training in the art of putting up with an international grievance simply because of the danger of attempting to secure redress.

To the insular mind of the Englishman of the seventeenth century the claims of Spain and Portugal to the sole right of navigation and trade in the Eastern Seas appeared an intolerable pretension; and when the breach of that monopoly became a question of national pride as well as one of national profit we find England joining Holland in an invasion of Southeastern Asia and in the establishment of dependencies in that part of the world.

Such, in brief, was the origin of Dutch and British rule in the Far Eastern Tropics, and to this day their presence there rests almost entirely upon economic considerations.

When we turn our attention to France and the United States we observe that these countries have become the neighbors of Holland and England in the Far East through causes totally different from those which have been described above.

Neither France nor the United States has been driven to territorial expansion in Asia through causes due to the pressure of population at home; neither has had the excuse that the monopolistic policy of other nations has compelled them to conquer Asiatic countries in order to find markets for their manufactures or a suitable ground from which to supply their demands for tropical products.

To the enterprise of France and of the United

States the vast area of the British Empire is still as freely open as it is to the energy of Englishmen ; and although this liberality has been rewarded in each case by a resort to every device which ingenuity could suggest as likely to injure the trade of England, there was no prospect, when France occupied Indo-China or when the United States acquired the Philippine Islands, that England intended to serve either country with a taste of its own policy.

We must seek to account for the presence of France and the United States in the Orient on other grounds than those of national necessity.

The case of the United States is simple in the extreme ; it may be summed up in the phrase "expansion by accident ;" for at the time of the outbreak of the Spanish-American war no one in the United States had any prevision that the conflict would result in the curious anti-climax of freeing one Spanish colony from a foreign yoke and fighting a war with another Spanish colony in order to bring it under a foreign yoke.

The presence of the United States in the Philippines is merely a bye-product of the liberation of Cuba ; and the antithesis established in the preceding paragraph is purely dialectical, for it represents an unforeseen and unavoidable consequence of the Spanish-American war rather than any deliberate and prearranged departure from the national policy.

The French conquest of Indo-China during the latter half of the nineteenth century is one of a

long series of colonial adventures in the tropics, which cannot be explained by reference to any real need of the French people for tropical dependencies.

Viewed from the historic standpoint French colonial expansion is divided into two periods. During the first of these France acquired her West Indian possessions, and her foothold in India, in the course of wars connected with various European quarrels; and although there was, no doubt, behind these wars some consideration of the value of tropical dependencies as such, their acquisition was not undertaken because they represented favorable areas for exploitation, but because their conquest was a move in the great game of European politics.

But at the beginning of the nineteenth century France had lost practically the whole of her Colonial Empire; and the recrudescence of a policy of territorial expansion in Asia occurred at a time when the causes which had led to the earlier colonial movement had ceased to have any bearing on national or on international affairs.

The moment for planting colonies of Frenchmen in non-tropical countries, and thus securing a true extension of the French nation, was past, for even as early as the end of the Napoleonic wars, every non-tropical portion of the world which was susceptible of conquest and settlement had been occupied by England or Russia or was clearly marked (as in the case of Trans-Caucasia and Australasia) for such occupation.

The only other material reason for colonial expansion, in the absence of a superabundant population, was the need of trade areas; and it was a need which France had not yet begun to feel.

The French conquest of Indo-China cannot, therefore, be attributed to the existence of any material national interests which would have suffered if the country had remained independent or had fallen under other foreign control; and the French action in the matter rested rather upon a mental trait of the French character than on any material consideration which the nation at large had in view.

The Frenchman is brave, patriotic, imaginative; and he is filled with a very proper and justifiable pride in the great achievements of his nation. To men of this temperament the spectacle of other countries constantly engaged in over-sea adventure, in adding island to island and province to province, and in reaping the rewards of exploration and warfare, could scarcely fail to prove an irresistible temptation; and thus the history of modern French colonization is that of the pride of rivalry, the joy of emulation, and has little concern with the persistent pursuit of a serious end closely related to the welfare of the nation.

If the origin of the Western Governments in Southeastern Asia exhibits a variety of causes operating towards the same result of alien control of numerous tropical territories, the principles on which these countries have been governed and the

methods of administration which have been adopted in them are no less diverse in character.

These differences have been exhibited at some length in previous chapters, and my present object is merely to draw a few general conclusions which suggest themselves from a study and comparison of the facts already before us.

England and Holland established themselves in the Far Eastern Tropics through the agency of trading companies, and until the beginning of the nineteenth century the government of these commercial outposts was in the hands of tradesmen and investors in Europe.

It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the effective control of the British and Dutch dependencies in Asia passed to the legislatures of the Sovereign States in Europe, although the trial of Warren Hastings, from which we date administrative reform in British India, commenced in 1788, and the bankruptcy of the Dutch East India Company, which threw the control of Netherlands-India into the hands of the Crown, occurred in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

The abuses which marred the administration of the Dutch and of the English East India Companies present an interesting difference in their general character.

The Dutch, up to the time when their Company was abolished, had never exhibited any high qualities of colonial statesmanship; and the officials of

Netherlands-India occupied themselves chiefly with such matters as appealed to the imagination of the Directors in Holland.

The result is that the student finds little record of action in the higher field of colonial government and a vast literature of commercial transactions.

In this material evidence is not lacking of serious evils in the local administration, and of severe oppression of the lower classes by the native rulers, who exacted from the people the amount of forced labor necessary to secure the trade products required by the Dutch.

What oppression there was, what injustice befell, what suffering was endured, concerned a people who, for the purposes of historical record, were inarticulate; and thus in the early accounts of Netherlands-India there are no Warren Hastings trials and no detailed revelations under the searchlight of European investigation.

In British India the whole circumstances were entirely different. Here the record contains comparatively little about the Company's shop-keeping, but is filled with the narrative of great and stirring events.

The abuses of the Company's rule in British India seldom touched the common people; they affected the affairs of the most powerful native princes; and each grievance, real or imaginary, was magnified a thousand-fold before it reached Europe, for the aggrieved person had the power as well as the desire to make himself heard

It is very easy, therefore, to fall into the common error of believing that the Dutch East India Company was more humane in its dealings with the natives than its English rival; but it must be remembered that the evils of administration in British India, falling as they did chiefly on the upper classes, left the natives at large better off in many respects than they had been under their own rulers, whereas, in Netherlands-India the worst effects of the system of government were felt only by the lowest classes, which were the least able to defend themselves or to leave a record of their treatment.

The gradual improvement of administrative methods in the British and Dutch dependencies in Asia is due to a number of causes. The growth of popular interest in colonial affairs which has followed the universal spread of newspapers and magazines amongst the public; the eagerness with which, under our modernized form of party government, the Opposition seizes upon any colonial topic which can be turned to political account; the increase of colonial travel and the augmentation of colonial trade which have occurred *pari passu* with the improvement of means of communication; the ability of instant protest and publicity at the seat of government, which the submarine cable has placed at the disposal of every colonial malcontent; these factors have gone far towards removing all serious abuses in the government of those tropical dependencies which lie on or near the ordinary routes of commerce.

But behind these elements of reform lies the mental development of the age, which has endowed us with such a keen sensitiveness to injustice or harshness of any kind that no evil which is great enough to reach the public conscience, through any one of the numerous channels which are open to any one who has a tale to tell, can long remain unchecked.

The United States and France embarked upon their careers in Southeastern Asia at a time when the principle of a just and tolerant rule over dependent races had already been adopted and applied by England and Holland.

The French in Indo-China have based their rule upon the utilization and control of the native institutions of government as they found them; and although the improvements which have been effected in the higher branches of the Government are of recent date, there can be traced from the very first a degree of sympathy with native ideas which is apparent even when the acts of administration show the greatest lack of adjustment to local conditions.

In the final moulding of a government in Indo-China the French enjoyed the advantage of combining with a democratic sentiment, no less real than that of the Americans, some experience of democratic institutions in the tropics — a valuable heritage of their West Indian experiences — and they have thus been spared the inconvenience and disappointment which would certainly have followed any attempt to found a democratic state on the banks of the Mekong.

When we turn, finally, to the work of the United States in the Philippines we are confronted with a number of facts of the greatest interest to students of comparative colonization.

The United States took up the task of administering the affairs of a tropical dependency so late in the day that practically every important problem of subordinate government in the tropics had already been the subject of experiment, successful or otherwise, by one or more of the great Colonial Powers.

As far as any influence it has exerted on the policy of the United States in the Philippines the history of tropical colonization as a phase of the national activity of England, France, and Holland might as well have remained unrecorded.

Each question, whether of principle or method, which has arisen in the Philippines has been approached as though it were an absolutely new problem, and the whole field of experimental administration has been thrown open to the ingenuity of a rapidly changing corps of officials.¹

¹ In this connection it may be noted that two commissions have been appointed to inquire into the work of other nations in the Far East. In completion of one of these Professor Jenks issued an admirable Report, but his recommendations, except in the matter of currency reform, have borne no fruit. The other commission was intrusted with the task of reporting on the question of opium legislation in the various Far Eastern Colonies. The Report has not yet been acted upon, and it is impossible, therefore, to judge whether it will have any effect upon Philippine legislation in the line of its recommendations.

In approaching the question of American administration and policy in the Philippines, from the standpoint of what has already been presented to the reader in this volume, it is very necessary at the outset to emphasize the fact that none of the countries which have been described in the previous chapters is in any true sense a colony, and that the whole significance of our data rests on the circumstance that there can never exist in any part of the Far Eastern Tropics a population which is not, for all practical purposes, completely tropical in its general character.

We have been dealing, then, not with colonies but with dependencies;¹ and the vital importance of this distinction becomes more apparent when we consider, on the one hand, the general trend of

¹ Throughout this volume I have used the words "colony" and "colonial" in the generally accepted, if inaccurate sense of a dependent state or matters pertaining to a dependent state, regardless of whether the territory referred to is in reality a colony or a dependency. It is almost impossible to avoid this use of words, for there is no adjective derived from the word "dependency" which can be used in such phrases, for instance, as "colonial policy" where the matter is really one relating to the policy towards a dependency. There is no such thing, strictly speaking, as a tropical *colony*; but this use of the word is sanctioned by custom. The exact phraseology appropriate to the different conditions is "colony" for those dependent states where there is or can be permanent white settlement on a large scale, and "dependency" for those dependent States in which the population is and always must be composed chiefly of natives of the tropics.

development in each class of territory, and, on the other hand, the fallacies which have arisen in recent discussions of American expansion from the confusion of ideas due to an insufficient appreciation of the difference between the two kinds of subordinate countries.

The War of American Independence arose through causes which had their origin in the inability or unwillingness of the British Government to realize the difference between a colony and a dependency; and the most important result of that war, as far as the British Empire was concerned, was the firm and final establishment of that difference in the public mind.

The nineteenth century witnessed the full expression of the new idea in the growth of British colonial policy. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, in a word all the subordinate Provinces of the British Empire, in which white men are able to establish a permanent home, have been granted responsible self-government in a form which leaves them a mastery of their internal affairs as complete as that which is enjoyed by the various component parts of the United States.

But if the political destiny of non-tropical colonies is clearly indicated by the experience of the great self-governing States of the British Empire, that of tropical dependencies is not less surely revealed by the history of the government of tropical races by white rulers.

In the whole range of British imperial experi-

ence there cannot be found an instance of any territory in which white men cannot effect a permanent settlement on a large scale where there has not been established and maintained a strictly dependent form of government; and even in those tropical dependencies which enjoy a rudimentary system of popular representation (such as British Guiana and Jamaica) we find that the final word in all matters of administration is spoken by the Colonial Office.

The colonial history of France also affords an excellent example of the evolution of dependent governments; and it discloses a complete change of practice as a result of actual experiment.

The older dependencies of France (Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Réunion), which received their constitutions at a time when the democratic enthusiasm of the French people was still in its first vigor, were endowed with representative institutions; and practically every negro was given a vote.

Between this act and the growth of the new Colonial Empire of France there intervened a period of thirty years, during which an opportunity was afforded of observing the operation of the liberal constitutions of the old dependencies.

Every writer whose opinions have fallen under my notice has placed himself on record in condemnation of the use to which the natives of the older tropical dependencies of France have put the political power intrusted to them for the management of their affairs. The history of these dependencies

has, in fact, been one of disorder, injustice, brutality, incompetence, and corruption.

These facts became matters of common knowledge in France; and in the new French dependencies not a single constitution has been granted which places any effective control of the administration in the hands of the natives.

In the tropical dependencies of Holland, Germany, and Portugal the Government is entirely under the control of officials of the Sovereign State.

Even when we turn to the over-sea possessions of the United States we find that, as a matter of fact, despite a great deal of talk about absolute self-government and not a little self-complacent oratory in regard to the wide liberality of American policy as compared with that of the European Powers, neither Porto Rico nor the Philippines has yet been granted a constitution differing in any material political feature from that of a British tropical dependency.

Finally, at the time this volume goes to press, the United States has found it necessary to assume control of the financial affairs of St. Domingo (one of the so-called Republics which reared themselves on the ruins of the Spanish Empire in America), which has gone from bad to worse during two generations of self-government.

The literature which treats the recent expansion of the United States has already assumed the proportions of a library; but it is not necessary to go very far afield in this material in order to discover

that a great number of writers have drawn their arguments in favor of the establishment of independent self-government in the Philippines from a mistaken application of the experience of the British non-tropical colonies.

If Canada and Australia are capable of self-government, why, we are asked, may not the Philippines look forward to a time when they too shall enjoy the advantages of advanced democratic political institutions?

To this query the facts which I have presented above should furnish a convincing reply. The reason why no such future is possible for the Philippines is that universal experience has shown that the inhabitants of a tropical country, where the native character has not been changed by a large admixture of European blood, are not capable and cannot be made capable of maintaining a political system which can so administer the Government as to avoid serious complications with foreign States as a result of the disorder which is the invariable accompaniment of purely native rule.

As far as I am able to judge, however, from a perusal of the general current literature relative to the question of American over-sea expansion, the appeal to past experience as a guide to present action is regarded by at least a considerable section of the American public as doctrinaire and wide of the mark.

Although no attempt is made to controvert the overwhelming mass of facts which go to place the

Philippine Islands in exactly the same category as all other tropical dependencies; although the United States has had some experience within its own borders of the political capacities of a tropical race, which is for many reasons more favorably situated than are the Filipinos for the enjoyment of popular self-government, although South and Central America, where the mass of the voters are greatly superior to what will constitute the same class in the Philippines, are speaking witnesses of the incapacity of tropical peoples for independent self-government, the American people seem prepared to accept hope rather than experience as the basis of their policy; and the date has already been fixed when the control of the Philippines is to pass to a popular assembly elected by the natives of the Islands.

A sober statement of an American view as to the future of the Philippines appeared in the editorial columns of "The Outlook," on December 31, 1904, and a portion of this I reproduce: "The American believes that every race of man in every land and in every climate can become in time 'a creature of schools, ballot-boxes, and free political institutions.' That is more than a political opinion bred in the school of experience; it is more than a political conviction born with the birth of the Nation; it is a spiritual faith. . . . But no argument can change the conviction of the American people that expenditures for an education which makes men add more to the wealth of a commun-

ity than expenditures which make roads, irrigating systems, forest conservancy, and good market places. No arguments can shake their faith that it is possible to make of the Filipino people a people of schools, ballot-boxes, and free institutions. If this is an ideal of the imagination, it is one to the realization of which the American people have committed themselves, and from their self-appointed task 'The Outlook' does not believe any arguments derived from the experience of the past will induce them to draw back."

As an ideal this leaves nothing to be desired; as a practical question of what is possible and what is impossible it lacks only a single hope of success which can be founded on any fact in connection with the history of tropical peoples.

It should not be overlooked that the experiment of converting Filipinos into Americans is being conducted at the risk and at the expense of the Filipinos, and that what for the United States is nothing more than a matter of interesting observation is for the Filipinos an affair of the most vital importance, in which success can place them in no better position than they would enjoy under an enlightened form of colonial government, but in which failure will plunge them into the most terrible political and social disorder.

The view of "The Outlook" which I have quoted above represents a deliberate renunciation of the lesson of history in favor of an appeal to a national sentiment developed and fostered under circum-

stances as widely different from any which have ever existed or ever can exist in the Philippine Islands as it is possible to conceive. It is the expression of a faith great enough to move mountains, and it is a view which I can respect without being able to yield to it the smallest degree of acquiescence.

But what can be said of the following opinion which has recently come to me from a private correspondent, and which is typical of much that has been written and spoken in recent years about Philippine affairs? "There is something more than facts — the ideal, and the human will, which is inspired by faith in it. . . . What we did to Japan was finer than what Warren Hastings or Sir Edward Clarke¹ have done, and if we give up the Philippines and demand their neutralization we shall have done a bigger thing than the centuries of English colonization have accomplished."

There can be no argument about an opinion of this kind, for the mental standpoint of my correspondent is as unassailable as that of the man who says, "These two verses of Browning have done more for the advancement of humanity than all the triumphs of the engineer, the chemist, and the surgeon."

¹ I do not understand my correspondent's reference to Japan. I cannot recall any occasion on which the United States had the choice of retaining Japan as a dependency or of securing her neutralization. The reference to Sir Edward Clarke is probably intended for Sir Andrew Clarke

No one who has lived in the United States, as I have done, for five years, can have failed to be impressed by the extraordinary progress of that country of marvels or to have realized in how great a measure the unbounded success of the American people is due to a free and untrammelled growth unhampered by any regard for tradition or precedent.

In a country situated like the United States, enjoying a temperate climate, endowed as to the people with irresistible energy, as to the soil with inexhaustible resources, and, as a consequence of these, with great wealth, the carving out of new political ideals and new administrative methods is one of the healthiest indications as well as one of the best results of a vigorous national life.

But this wonderful growth of the United States is the product, fundamentally, of a new and unparalleled phenomenon in history — the rapid expansion of a society composed of the most diverse elements over a territory of the most varied resources, at a time when science had placed at the disposal of man infinite capacities of progress which were not available during the growth of the older nations.

In attempting to transplant to the Philippines their social and political institutions, products of the unique conditions of the United States, the Americans show a remarkable blindness to the causes of their own development, for every natural circumstance which has contributed to the growth

of a distinctively American civilization is wanting in the Philippine Islands.

Everything points to-day towards a constantly increasing interest in Europe and in America in colonial affairs, and people appear to be awaking to a realization of the importance of the tropical regions of the earth as a source of supply for food-stuffs, metals, and other commodities of necessity in our modern scheme of existence.

The future will no doubt witness a closer and more intelligent study of colonization than has been in vogue up to the present time ; and if this volume should in some small degree stimulate the public interest in one of the most fascinating and useful fields of investigation open to the student of political science, it will have served a good purpose.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

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HONG KONG

AREA

30 5 square miles

This is exclusive of the area of the New Territory on the Chinese mainland, leased to the British Government in 1898, which has an area of 375 square miles

POPULATION

Total civil population, Census of 1901

Europeans and Americans	6,431
Chinese	274,543
Other nationalities	2,931
Total	283,905

Estimated population, 1904 — 317,130

To the estimate for 1904 may be added

Military population	8,500
New Territory	110,000

HONG KONG FINANCES

The following table shows the fluctuations in the value of the local dollar, in which all accounts are kept.

THE HONG KONG DOLLAR EXPRESSED IN U. S. CURRENCY

	Highest	Lowest		Highest	Lowest
1894	54 cents.	46 cents	1899	48 cents	46 cents
1895	54	46	1900	50	46
1896	54	50	1901	50	44
1897	50	42	1902	46	38
1898	46	44	1903	48	38

The above rates are calculated to the nearest cent

Revenue and Expenditures in Local Dollars

	Revenue	Expenditures		Revenue	Expenditures
1894	2,287,203	2,299,096	1899	3,610,143	3,162,792
1895	2,486,228	2,972,373	1900	4,202,587	3,628,447
1896	2,609,878	2,474,910	1901	4,213,893	4,111,722
1897	2,686,914	2,641,409	1902	4,901,073	5,909,548
1898	2,918,159	2,841,805	1903	5,238,857	5,396,669

Public Debt

Hong Kong has a Public Debt of £341,799 sterling.

HONG KONG SHIPPING

Tonnage of shipping ENTERED, exclusive of junks in coasting trade

	British	Chinese	Other Nations	Total
1894	3,889,852	1,862,216	1,223,147	6,975,215
1895	4,297,342	1,960,458	1,359,203	7,617,003
1896	4,382,546	2,129,727	1,538,812	8,051,085
1897	4,133,151	1,974,358	1,674,870	7,782,379
1898	4,362,837	2,077,116	2,014,030	8,453,983
1899	4,362,206	2,102,240	2,105,758	8,570,204
1900	4,588,610	1,741,397	2,296,607	8,626,614
1901	4,615,022	1,650,204	2,749,729	9,014,955
1902	4,786,401	1,788,349	3,292,736	9,876,486
1903	5,633,563	1,568,545	3,663,326	10,865,434

HONG KONG TRADE

Hong Kong is a free port and no complete returns of Imports and Exports are available. The trade of Hong Kong is almost entirely a transit trade.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO

AREA

31,106 square miles

POPULATION

Census of 1901

Europeans	195	Natives of Borneo	
Eurasians	40	Bajau	10,885
Chinese	12,282	Brunei	6,767
Japanese	149	Dusun	33,456
Siamese	13	Dyak	542
Arabs	29	Idahan	862
Malays	1,071	Illanun	320
Natives of India	442	Kedayan	2,612
Of Dutch Indies	3,960	Murut	12,230
Of Sulu	6,371	Orang Sungei	4,784
Sarawak }	67	Orang Padas	6,784
Malays }		Tangais	474
		Tutong	190
TOTAL			104,525

The present population is estimated at 175,000 This estimate includes districts which were not reached by the Census of 1901.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO SHIPPING

Tonnage of shipping ENTERED at the Port of Sandakan

1894	42,212	1899	97,868
1895	44,583	1900	98,914
1896	60,000	1901	108,882
1897	95,300	1902 }	no returns
1898	98,832	1903 }	available

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO FINANCE

The following general facts about the finances of British North Borneo are taken from the Balance Sheet of the British North Borneo Company issued on December 31, 1903.

Authorized Capital	£2,000,000
Capital issued	752,975
Issue of 5 % Debentures	200,000
Issue of 5 % Bonds	200,000

Revenue and Expenditure in local dollars

The following figures for finance and trade are in local dollars which follow very closely the rate of exchange in Hong Kong, for which see p 285

	Revenue	Expenditure		Revenue	Expenditure
1894	316,069	329,527	1899	546,129	568,347
1895	349,414	397,184	1900	587,226	402,859
1896	411,699	496,015	1901	658,930	431,219
1897	437,028	574,490	1902	830,157	541,980
1898	505,369	633,051	1903	918,059	609,927

From 1900 onward a large portion of the Expenditure has been charged to Capital Account. The expenditures thus charged are for Railway and Telegraph Construction, Public Works, Government Vessels, etc. These expenditures were in 1902, 1,070,215 dollars, in 1903, 1,196,336 dollars.

TRADE OF BRITISH NORTH BORNEO

Value of Imports and Exports in local dollars *Value of treasure included*

	Imports	Exports		Imports	Exports
1894	1,329,066	1,698,543	1899	2,456,999	3,439,560
1895	1,663,906	2,130,600	1900	3,178,929	3,336,621
1896	1,822,188	2,473,753	1901	3,262,763	3,382,337
1897	1,887,498	2,942,293	1902	3,807,621	3,671,004
1898	2,419,088	2,838,845	1903	3,229,310	4,212,151

SARAWAK

AREA

50,000 square miles

POPULATION

No census has ever been taken. The population is estimated at 500,000, consisting of Dyaks, Malays, Chinese, a few Europeans, Arabs, Natives of India, and of the Dutch East Indies.

SARAWAK FINANCES

Revenue and Expenditure in local dollars, which follow closely the rate of exchange in Hong Kong, for which see p 285

	Revenue	Expenditure		Revenue	Expenditure
1894	457,596	486,533	1899	851,438	843,230
1895	453,800	462,383	1900	915,966	901,172
1896	493,760	444,200	1901	1,046,318	953,818
1897	565,789	504,100	1902	1,192,039	1,139,287
1898	638,188	543,507	1903	1,391,612	1,277,558

PUBLIC DEBT

The Public Debt of Sarawak on Dec 31, 1903, was \$25,000.

SARAWAK SHIPPING

Tonnage of vessels ENTERED in the foreign trade

1894	26,097	1899	20,803
1895	25,052	1900	22,062
1896	26,222	1901	36,158
1897	22,403	1902	55,190
1898	22,503	1903	46,912

TRADE OF SARAWAK

Value of Imports and Exports in local dollars Value of treasure included

	Imports	Exports		Imports	Exports
1894	1,861,859	2,105,972	1899	3,281,009	4,467,006
1895	1,915,597	2,206,723	1900	3,848,679	5,217,036
1896	2,274,159	2,425,565	1901	4,404,644	5,900,925
1897	2,489,288	2,732,478	1902	4,959,720	6,796,586
1898	2,906,143	3,367,141	1903	5,849,629	7,512,440

BURMA

AREA

Burma Proper	168,573 square miles.
The Chin Hills	10,250
The Shan States	59,915
Total	238,738

POPULATION

Census of 1901

Burma Proper	9,252,875
The Chin Hills	100,305
The Shan States	1,137,444
Total	10,490,624

Population according to Religions

Religious data were not returned for 1,260,722 persons

	Number	Proportion per 10,000		Number	Proportion per 10,000
Buddhist	8,223,071	8,910	Hindu	279,975	303
Animist	237,508	257	Christian	145,726	158
Mussulman	337,083	365	Others	6,539	7

BURMA FINANCES

The unit used in the statistics of finance and trade of Burma is the rupee, equal to 1s 4d sterling, or 32 cents U S currency

*Revenue and Expenditure of Burma*¹

	Revenue (In rupees)	Expenditure (In rupees)		Revenue (In rupees)	Expenditure (In rupees)
1894	45,681,636	28,663,243	1899	75,184,680	45,975,994
1895	49,008,390	29,354,494	1900	78,624,281	51,345,687
1896	52,419,874	29,033,927	1901	85,764,911	56,069,742
1897	50,076,732	27,969,242	1902	86,935,538	58,580,745
1898	68,460,076	44,631,771	1903	96,905,643	63,287,232

¹ These figures are taken from the financial statement published annually in the "Report on the Administration of Burma." They represent the Gross Receipts and Expenditures, and they include the transactions of the Rangoon and Moulmein Municipalities, of the Rangoon Port Trust, and of the Rangoon Pilot Fund

BURMA SHIPPING

Tonnage ENTERED at ports of Burma, in the foreign trade

These figures exclude entries from ports of India, which are regarded as part of the coasting trade.

	British	Foreign	Total
1894	420,850	79,132	505,982
1895	539,929	78,755	616,684
1896	547,365	96,051	643,416
1897	466,934	74,785	541,719
1898	504,386	95,076	599,462
1899	618,603	105,345	723,948
1900	604,020	107,018	711,038
1901	579,128	100,771	679,899
1902	632,410	125,390	757,809
1903	returns not available		

TRADE OF BURMA

Value of the total sea-borne trade of Burma, excluding transactions on Government Account

	Imports (In rupees)	Exports
1894	98,594,075	114,058,201
1895	83,268,876	136,707,705
1896	102,200,971	141,146,432
1897	98,909,551	145,722,889
1898	114,493,022	163,561,893
1899	116,808,404	164,667,442
1900	125,865,444	186,434,440
1901	144,331,536	214,074,674
1902	138,930,649	188,945,167
1903	148,138,800	225,027,286

THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES

AREA

Perak	6,500 square miles
Selangor	3,200
Negri-Sembilan	2,600
Pahang	14,000
Total	26,300

POPULATION

Census of 1901

	Europeans	Eurasians	Chinese	Malays	Tamils	Others	Total
Perak	661	591	149,875	141,723	34,710	2,005	329,065
Selangor	487	576	108,768	40,384	16,748	1,826	168,789
Negri-Sembilan	140	309	32,901	56,917	5,526	235	96,028
Pahang	184	46	8,695	78,462	1,227	549	84,113
Total	1,422	1,522	299,739	312,486	58,211	5,215	678,595

Under "Tamils" in the above table are included other natives of India. The estimated population of the Federated Malay States in 1903 was 801,240.

FEDERATED MALAY STATES FINANCES

In local dollars, which follow very closely the course of exchange in Hong Kong, for which see p. 285

	Revenue	Expenditure
1894	7,511,809	7,162,396
1895	8,481,007	7,582,553
1896	8,434,083	8,598,147
1897	8,296,687	8,795,313
1898	9,364,467	11,110,042
1899	13,486,410	11,499,478
1900	15,609,807	12,728,930
1901	17,541,507	17,273,158
1902	20,550,543	15,986,247
1903	22,672,567	16,219,872

PUBLIC DEBT

The Government of the Federated Malay States has no Public Debt. It has never raised a loan

FEDERATED MALAY STATES SHIPPING

Tonnage of vessels ENTERED, exclusive of native craft

	Perak	Selangor	Negri-Sembilan	Total
1894	168,859	184,967	132,442	486,268
1895	161,611	194,617	106,910	462,138
1896	143,069	195,689	70,760	409,518
1897	131,986	180,221	51,906	364,113
1898	129,063	190,705	61,531	381,299
1899	128,137	158,231	92,461	378,829
1900	138,824	181,768	102,864	423,456
1901	157,409	211,113	158,935	527,457
1902	173,299	307,523	214,236	695,058
1903	returns not available			

TRADE OF THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES

Value of Imports and Exports. In local dollars

	Imports	Exports
1894	24,499,615	32,703,147
1895	22,853,271	31,622,805
1896	21,148,895	28,395,855
1897	25,000,682	31,148,340
1898	27,116,446	35,241,003
1899	33,765,073	54,895,139
1900	38,402,581	60,361,045
1901	39,524,603	63,107,177
1902	45,757,240	71,350,243
1903	47,790,059	80,253,944

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

AREA	
Singapore	247 square miles
Penang and Province Wellesley	600
The Dindings and Malacca	625
Total	1472

POPULATION	
<i>Census of 1901</i>	
Europeans and Americans	5,068
Eurasians	7,663
Chinese	281,933
Malays	215,058
Tamils and other natives of India	57,150
Others	5,387
Total	572,259

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS SHIPPING

Tonnage of vessels ENTERED (exclusive of Native Craft and vessels under fifty tons burden) in the foreign trade and in trade between the Settlements

1894	5,534,761	1899	6,595,075
1895	5,528,742	1900	7,238,185
1896	6,119,475	1901	8,146,221
1897	6,055,275	1902	8,529,316
1898	6,225,210	1903	9,213,846

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS FINANCES

Revenue and Expenditure in local dollars, which follow closely the rate of exchange in Hong Kong, for which see p 285

	Revenue	Expenditure		Revenue	Expenditure
1894	3,904,774	3,714,620	1899	5,200,026	5,060,523
1895	4,048,360	3,782,456	1900	5,386,557	6,030,740
1896	4,266,064	3,957,090	1901	7,041,686	7,315,000
1897	4,268,385	4,437,516	1902	7,754,736	7,601,354
1898	5,029,689	4,582,951	1903	7,958,496	8,185,952

Public Debt

The Straits Settlements have no Public Debt

TRADE OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

*Value of Imports and Exports Value of treasure and value of trade
between the Settlements included In local dollars*

	Imports	Exports
1894	224,151,292	186,786,064
1895	211,046,776	185,813,002
1896	211,478,247	184,297,580
1897	232,011,963	203,977,342
1898	258,723,991	221,985,559
1899	293,178,542	249,221,452
1900	325,251,448	274,454,820
1901	320,520,209	278,753,805
1902	362,935,000	314,035,000
1903	403,037,000	336,689,000

FRENCH INDO-CHINA

I know of no task more difficult than that of securing accurate and comprehensive data in regard to French Colonies

That I am not alone in this difficulty will be seen from the following passage from "Dix Années de Politique coloniale," by M. J. Chailley-Bert.

He is recounting a conversation with M. Guillaum, former Minister of Colonies in France "No country is so badly informed on the subject of its Colonies as France Let us suppose that you wish to present, in reply to some deputy, a statement of the actual condition at some given time, I will not say of our whole Colonial Empire, but of one single Colony; you may be sure that such a statement does not exist, that it will take you forty-eight hours to prepare it, and that even then it will involve, in all probability, telegraphing to the Colony With the exception of yourself, there is no one, not even the best informed Frenchman, who could prepare anything accurate."

Although I was supplied very generously by the Government of French Indo-China with documents relating to the condition of that Colony, I have been unable to extract from them statistical information of the same degree of completeness and accuracy as that relating to the other Colonies dealt with in this Appendix.

AREA OF FRENCH INDO-CHINA

270,000 square miles

POPULATION

No complete census has been taken. The following figures are from "L'Année Coloniale" for 1899.

Cochin-China	2,300,000
Cambodia	1,700,000
Tonkin	7,500,000
Laos	500,000
Total	17,000,000

Whitaker gives the total population in 1904 as 22,500,000.

FRENCH INDO-CHINA FINANCES

Some of the financial and trade statistics are given in francs, some in piastres, in the official records. In the following tables everything has been reduced to francs. The franc is equal to 9½d sterling, or 19 cents U S currency.

General Revenue and Expenditure, in francs. Figures taken from the Annual Budget

	Revenue	Expenditure
1899	44,402,000	44,395,700
1900	53,671,000	53,652,940
1901	57,495,000	57,455,000 "
1902	65,140,000	65,106,000
1903	63,756,000	63,756,000

The above table represents the finances of the Union or Federation of French Indo-China. In addition each member of the Union has its own local budget. The local budgets for 1903 show the following revenues:

Annam	5,159,000 francs
Cambodia	4,650,000
Cochin-China	9,929,000
Tonkin	9,955,000
Laos	616,000

TRADE OF FRENCH INDO-CHINA

Value of Imports and Exports, in francs

	Imports	Exports
1894	68,088,060	103,510,661
1895	89,018,496	96,296,151
1896	81,084,040	88,809,575
1897	88,182,991	117,234,062
1898	102,444,346	127,510,979
1899	115,424,493	137,937,288
1900	186,044,387	155,600,385
1901	202,477,670	160,608,377
1902	215,162,998	185,266,589

NETHERLANDS-INDIA

(Commonly referred to as the Dutch East Indies)

AREA

Java and Madura	50,544 square miles.
Sumatra	161,612
Dutch Borneo	212,737
Dutch New Guinea	151,789
Celebes	71,470
Other Islands	88,248
Total	736,400

POPULATION

Census figures for 1900 These figures exclude members of the Dutch Military and Naval Forces. The term "Europeans" includes all half-castes registered as having white blood The figures under "Natives in the Other Possessions" are simply a rough estimate

	Europeans	Chinese	Arabs	Oriental Indians other than natives of Netherlands- India	Natives	Total
Java and Madura	63,477	277,265	18,051	3,114	28,380,121	28,747,028
Other Possessions	13,356	260,051	9,348	13,538	7,000,000	7,206,291
Total	75,833	537,316	27,399	26,652	35,380,121	36,043,319

NETHERLANDS-INDIA FINANCES

All accounts are kept in guildens. The gulden equals 1s 8d. sterling, or 40 cents U S currency.

	Revenue (In millions of guildens)	Expenditure
1894	128 4	138 7
1895	131 2	139 5
1896	133 1	143 7
1897	130 4	148 6
1898	132.4	150.7
1899	142 6	144 4
1900	151 8	146 1
1901	149 3	150 0
1902	145 5	160.0

TRADE OF NETHERLANDS-INDIA

In guildens Value of treasure included

	IMPORTS		
	Government	Private	Total
1894	7,711,597	167,503,632	175,215,229
1895	8,185,091	153,345,203	161,530,294
1896	7,361,332	160,987,301	168,348,633
1897	5,172,145	176,533,403	181,705,548
1898	8,163,279	171,658,153	179,821,432
1899	4,530,029	186,792,241	191,322,270
1900	9,370,149	186,553,373	195,923,522
1901	10,653,558	218,575,511	229,229,069
1902	13,032,570	189,925,470	202,958,040

	EXPENDITURE		
	Government	Private	Total
1894	17,022,361	183,063,456	200,085,817
1895	22,281,009	202,806,801	225,087,810
1896	14,325,256	185,305,455	199,630,711
1897	18,305,874	192,108,404	210,414,278
1898	13,560,199	204,193,898	217,754,097
1899	14,944,387	235,978,871	250,923,258
1900	26,954,304	232,079,302	259,033,606
1901	20,217,325	235,024,389	255,241,714
1902	18,347,107	247,124,377	265,471,484

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

AREA

In the following table the area is given of each Island which has an area of 100 square miles or over. The figures are taken from U S Coast and Geodetic Survey, Special Publication No 3, 1900.

	Square Miles		Square Miles
Basilan	350	Mindanao	36,237
Bohol	1,439	Mindoro	3,972
Burias	163	Negros	4,854
Busuanga	328	Panay	4,708
Catanduanes	680	Palawan	3,937
Cebu	1,742	Pohillo	231
Onhon	117	Samal	105
Dinagat	259	Samar	5,040
Gumaras	176	Siargao	134
Leyte	2,713	Sibuyan	131
Luzon	47,238	Jolo	241
Marinduque	287	Tablas	250
Masbate	1,290	Tawi Tawi	237

Total area of the Philippine Islands including the estimated area of some unmeasured Islands 119,542 square miles

POPULATION OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Census of 1903

Province or Comandancia	Population	Province or Comandancia	Population
Abra	51,860	Leyte	388,922
Albay	240,326	Manila City	219,928
Ambos Camarines	239,405	Marinduque	51,674
Antique	134,166	Masbate	43,675
Basilan	30,179	Mindoro	39,582
Bataan	46,787	Misamis	175,683
Batangas	257,715	Negros Occidental	308,272
Benguet	22,745	Negros Oriental	201,494
Bohol	269,223	Nueva Ecija	134,147
Bulacan	223,742	Nueva Vizcaya	62,541
Cagayan	156,239	Pampanga	223,754
Capiz	230,721	Pangasman	397,902
Cavite	134,779	Paragua (Palawan)	29,351
Cebu	653,727	Paragua Sur	6,345
Cottabato	125,875	Rizal	150,923
Dapitan	23,577	Romblon	52,848
Davao	65,496	Samar	266,237
Ilocos Norte	178,995	Siassi	24,562
Ilocos Sur	187,411	Sorsogon	120,495
Iloilo	410,315	Surigao	115,112
Isabela	76,431	Tarlac	135,107
Jolo	51,389	Tawi Tawi	14,638
La Laguna	148,606	Tayabas	153,065
La Union	137,839	Zambales	104,549
Lepanto-Bontoc	72,750	Zamboanga	44,322

Total population of the Philippine Islands	7,635,426
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Of this number 6,987,686 are classified as Civilized, and 647,740 as Wild.

FINANCES OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

I have been unable to find any reliable statistics in regard to the finances of the Philippine Islands during the period of Spanish rule

The following figures are taken from the Annual Reports of the Philippine Commission.

Comparative Treasury Statement of the Philippine Islands for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903

	United States Currency				
<i>Debit</i>	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903
Balance due Government at beginning of year		309,479	2,023,417	6,222,012	5,955,006
Total deposits on account of —					
• Customs	3,083,660	5,082,365	9,127,005	8,408,085	9,177,379
Refundable export duties				70,714	521,824
Post-Offices		18,000	95,015	100,217	103,358
Internal Revenue	245,215	532,575	932,484	268,111	212,831
Miscellaneous	134,716	545,860	622,224	601,751	1,175,420
Repayments to appropriations			440,580	3,200,354	4,064,171
Philippine pesos coined from bullion purchased					1,600,000
Sale of certificates of indebtedness					3,075,330
Relief fund voted by United States Congress					3,000,000
City of Manila				1,067,871	1,577,416
Total Debit	3,463,581	7,138,189	13,280,734	19,940,018	30,502,798
<i>Credit</i>	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903
Total withdrawals	3,064,102	5,114,722	7,063,821	13,301,320	18,528,338
Total net differences due to change of official ratio of exchange in conversion of Mexican to United States currency	.			502,691	340,766
Balance due the Government at close of year	360,479	2,023,417	6,222,012	5,965,006	10,833,693
Total Credit	3,463,581	7,138,189	13,286,734	19,979,018	30,502,798

The following table shows the Revenue and Expenditure of the Insular Government for the fiscal year 1903. These figures include the revenue and expenditure of the City of Manila, but exclude those of the Provincial Governments and the amount of the Congressional Relief Fund. The Provincial

Revenues during 1903 amounted to \$2,548,259 U. S. currency, and the Congressional Relief Fund amounted to \$3,000,000 U. S. currency

Revenue and Expenditure of Philippine Islands, 1903

	Debit	Credit
Ordinary revenue exclusive of all refundable items	11,500,535	
Extraordinary revenues exclusive of all refundable items	588,194	
Ordinary expenditures		8,002,139
Extraordinary expenditures		3,504,076
Excess of expenditures over revenues	482,385	
Total	12,557,119	12,557,116

SHIPPING OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS*

Tonnage of shipping ENTERED in the carrying trade

1901	1,644,528	1903	2,354,742
1902	1,906,733	1904	2,471,293

The tonnage is not divided in the returns according to nationality, but the value of cargoes is divided in this manner, and gives the following results for imports during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904

Value of imports brought in	U. S. dollars
American vessels	2,101,234
British vessels	16,358,774
French vessels	744,155
German vessels	6,572,958
Spanish vessels	4,879,778
Norwegian vessels	1,218,238
All others	2,428,343

TRADE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Values in U. S. dollars

	Imports	Exports
1900	20,601,436	19,751,068
1901	30,279,406	23,214,948
1902	32,141,842	23,927,679
1903	32,971,882	33,121,780
1904	33,220,761	30,250,627

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APPENDIX C

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TABLE I

Total population of Philippines, classified as civilized and wild

PROVINCE OR COMANDANCIA ¹	Total population	Civilized.	Wild.
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS	7,635,426	6,987,086	647,740
Abra	51,860	57,823	14,037
Albay	240,320	220,434	802
Ambos Camarines	229,405	223,473	5,933
Antique	134,168	131,245	2,921
Basilan	80,179	1,261	28,848
Batana	46,787	46,100	1,021
Batangas	257,715	257,715	
Benguet	22,745	917	21,828
Bohol	200,223	200,223	
Bulacan	223,742	223,227	415
Cagayan	156,230	142,925	13,414
Cdpor	220,721	225,092	5,629
Cavite	134,770	134,779	
Cebu	658,727	653,727	
Cotabato	125,875	2,313	123,562
Dapitan	25,077	17,154	8,423
Davao	65,406	20,224	45,272
Ilocos Norte	178,005	176,785	2,210
Ilocos Sur	187,411	173,809	13,611
Iloilo	410,815	403,052	8,383
Isabela	76,431	68,703	7,638
Jolo	51,380	1,270	50,110
La Laguna	148,006	148,006	
La Unión	127,830	127,789	10,060
Lepanto Bontoc	72,750	2,407	70,383
Leyte	388,922	388,922	
Manila city	210,928	210,928	
Marinduque ²	51,674	51,674	
Masbate	43,075	43,075	
Mindoro	89,382	32,318	7,264
Misamis	176,083	136,473	40,210
Negros Occidental	308,272	305,090	4,612
Negros Oriental	201,494	184,889	16,005
Nueva Ecija	134,147	132,000	1,148
Nueva Vizcaya	62,541	16,023	46,515
Pampanga	223,764	223,550	1,006
Pangasinan	387,902	304,516	5,386
Paragu	20,351	27,423	1,858
Paragu Sur	6,345	1,860	4,986
Rizal	180,023	148,002	2,421
Romblon	52,848	52,848	
Samar	265,237	235,540	688
Sancti	24,562	207	24,205
Sorsogon	120,495	120,454	41
Surigao	115,112	90,208	15,814
Tarlac	136,107	133,513	1,594
Tawi Tawi	14,638	53	14,645
Tayabas ³	163,005	150,202	2,803
Zambales	104,549	101,381	3,168
Zamboanga	44,322	20,692	23,630

¹ Comandancia is the Spanish word for military district. At the date of the census the civil organization had not been extended to all parts of the archipelago and certain districts were therefore returned as comandancias which have since become civil districts.

² Sub-province of Tayabas

³ Exclusive of sub-province of Marinduque

TABLE II

Civilized population of Philippines, classified by color

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
PROVINCE OR COMANDANCIA.				Total population.	Browns		Mixed		Yellow			White			Black							
					Total.		Total		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total							
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS				6,987,686	6,914,880	15,419	42,097	41,071	1,026	14,271	11,450	2,821	1,019									
Albay	37,823	6	37,773	579	1,227	1,225	2	29	14	1	220									
Albay	234,434		237,114	519	1,065	1,065		1,225	294	36	230									
Amboyan	233,472		231,571	519	1,065	1,065		294	293	36	230									
Amboyan	131,945		130,595	297	1,583	1,583		1,065	291	35	62									
Amboyan	1,321		1,295	48	44	44		158	32	2										
Amboyan	45,106		45,030	38	37	37		44	11	14	1									
Amboyan	257,710		257,040	78	222	225	7	97	70	36	41									
Amboyan	917		915	6	12	12		222	239	36										
Amboyan	260,223		262,830	152	183	183		84	75	9										
Amboyan	223,327		222,653	309	372	364		28	24	4	3									
Amboyan	142,825		141,435	217	954	915		8	60	48	12									
Amboyan	295,082		294,519	311	300	199		9	223	198	35	16								
Amboyan	134,779		133,453	150	852	827		1	62	45	17									
Amboyan	683,727		651,276	883	1,170	1,163		25	291	229	62	3								
Amboyan	2,313		1,779	183	212	201		7	372	312	60	25								
Amboyan	17,154		17,078	12	67	54		11	139	107	33									
Amboyan	30,224		30,183	60	39	39		3	7	7										
Amboyan	176,785		175,463	132	114	114		..	62	49	3									
Amboyan	173,800		173,267	168	291	291		..	75	46	29	1								
Amboyan	403,932		401,113	622	1,503	1,503		20	140	134	16	4								
Amboyan	68,793		68,054	145	447	447		56	640	462	198									
Amboyan	1,270		615	122	485	485		56	133	135	13	9								

TABLES FROM THE PHILIPPINE CENSUS 319

	148,606	147,719	153	535	523	3	195	155	40	3
24 La Laguna	127,789	127,789	101	203	202	1	94	84	10	41
25 La Union	9,467	9,388	84	11	11		34	31	3	
26 Lepanto-Bontoc	386,993	386,993	674	1,785	1,785		234	194	40	
27 Leyte	210,028	185,351	4,564	21,838	21,105	783	7,943	6,136	1,807	292
28 Manila city	51,571	51,537	49	73	70	8	15	12	3	
29 Marinduque	43,919	43,919	117	134	124		71	61	10	4
30 Masbate	35,615	35,615	37	70	69		45	49	6	
31 Mindoro	32,518	32,485	37	63	63		202	188	14	1
32 Negros Occidental	183,473	184,341	393	631	631		307	269	48	1
33 Negros Oriental	303,690	301,571	626	940	946	2	57	57	5	53
34 Nueva Ecija	164,889	164,045	590	330	328	2	72	68	14	34
35 Nueva Vizcaya	137,469	132,560	190	183	180	3	118	118		
36 Pangasinan	16,025	15,991	16	562	560	1	149	118		22
37 Pampanga	227,656	221,471	626	794	714	10	233	218	35	60
38 Pinaric	384,516	383,186	283	794	714	10	233	218	35	20
39 Pampanga	27,463	27,463	42	30	35		40	37	4	
40 Paragua Sur	1,339	1,296	8	35	35		293	280	63	17
41 Rana	146,602	147,008	113	626	620	5	34	31	3	
42 Romblon	62,848	62,605	91	126	126		219	204	12	7
43 Samar	285,549	284,386	213	825	822	3	4	4	8	
44 Sorsogon	237	237	6	844	840	49	157	144	13	2
45 Surigao	190,454	191,070	581	320	317	2	65	51	5	16
46 Tarlac	96,773	96,773	137	325	320	2	65	47	21	17
47 Tuguegarao	182,906	182,906	200	325	320	2	65	47	21	3
48 Zamboanga	183,513	183,513	47	325	320	2	65	47	21	3
49 Zamboanga	150,263	149,702	287	473	473	1	159	148	11	35
50 Zamboanga	101,381	101,381	146	128	120	3	51	42	9	21
51 Zamboanga	20,692	19,240	618	643	631	22	191	150	41	

1 Sub-province of Tayabas

2 Exclusive of sub-province of Marinduque

Amongst the "Brown" and "Mixed" the sexes are very evenly distributed, the great preponderance of males amongst the "Yellow" and "White" is shown in the above table

TABLE III

Civilized Population of Philippines, classified by place of birth

Born in Philippine Islands	6,931,548
United States	8,135
Other America	83
Spain	3,888
France	121
United Kingdom	667
Germany	368
Other Europe	487
China	41,035
Japan	921
East Indies	241
Other Asia and Oceania	108
All other countries	84
Total civilized population	<hr/> 6,987,686

TABLE IV

Civilized male population of voting age (21 years and over)

Illiterate	1,137,776
Literate	489,009
Superior education	50,140
Total	<hr/> 1,677,525

TABLES FROM THE PHILIPPINE CENSUS 321

TABLE V

Civilized Population of Philippines attending school

PROVINCE OR COMANDANCIA	Total.	
	Male.	Female
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS	442,012	368,708
Abra	8,717	3,182
Albay	18,961	12,515
Amboi Camarines	13,607	10,780
Antique	9,380	8,878
Bacilan	48	45
Batán	2,187	1,479
Batangas	10,220	8,503
Benguet	51	35
Bohol	20,178	19,815
Bulacán	13,185	10,170
Cagayán	7,435	5,303
Cápiz	11,756	9,994
Cavite	8,306	7,101
Cebu	48,987	45,647
Cotabato	89	84
Dapitan	1,227	1,068
Dávao	878	657
Ilocos Norte	11,105	9,136
Ilocos Sur	11,100	8,886
Iloilo	25,684	22,934
Isabela	4,018	3,310
Joló	45	17
La Laguna	8,010	6,504
La Unión	11,146	8,355
Legante Bontoc	132	122
Leyte	27,330	24,155
Manila city	10,808	6,509
Marinduque ¹	5,278	4,188
Masbate	8,185	2,066
Mindao	2,273	1,801
Misamis	9,452	8,508
Negros Occidental	13,663	11,405
Negros Oriental	10,020	9,100
Nueva Helja	7,701	4,858
Nueva Viscaya	1,613	1,122
Pampanga	9,917	6,882
Pangasinán	31,345	29,776
Paragua	1,685	1,014
Paragua Sur	88	32
Rizal	6,034	5,058
Romblón	4,168	3,312
Samar	12,834	10,034
Sisal	12	1
Sorsogón	9,733	7,352
Surigao	8,229	7,380
Tarlac	7,783	5,621
Tawi Tawi	3	2
Tayabas ²	11,312	8,087
Zambales	5,091	3,031
Zamboanga	1,604	1,470

¹ Sub province of Tayabas

² Exclusive of sub province of Marinduque

TABLE VI
Civilized population of Philippines 10 years of age and over, classified by literacy and sex

Province or Comandancia.	Population, 10 years of age and over	LITERATE				ILLITERATE				LITERATE.	
		Total.		Can neither read nor write.		Can read but can- not write		Total		With superior education.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS	4,973,626	1,738,313	2,235,725	1,311,852	1,450,241	426,361	782,484	735,564	287,004	53,020	17,637
Alaba	36,103	8,483	12,187	6,545	8,013	1,947	4,174	4,154	1,269	203	52
Albay	174,830	58,020	77,935	38,289	43,892	20,240	34,043	27,290	11,066	1,102	385
Ambo Camarines	170,750	60,351	77,727	37,000	50,533	18,923	27,194	27,394	8,507	942	221
Anique	80,169	30,951	42,882	22,460	24,237	7,701	18,655	10,480	6,286	339	60
Bacalan	1,005	314	268	254	219	50	50	273	105	11	3
Batangas	32,805	10,821	14,697	5,385	6,463	5,436	8,194	5,634	1,633	309	39
Benguet	181,284	71,237	96,054	54,339	59,178	16,798	26,876	18,133	5,700	1,277	250
Bohol	765	226	165	194	131	32	34	318	56	86	16
Bulacan	188,074	73,652	85,129	63,371	68,877	7,231	15,252	15,392	18,951	537	135
Cagayan	161,865	42,968	74,694	12,332	28,893	23,497	47,796	35,234	9,148	2,137	868
Cebu	100,508	35,909	45,295	20,445	26,913	6,464	8,907	15,992	3,922	602	129
Capiz	158,411	54,666	83,675	44,168	56,980	10,433	28,715	14,697	5,443	1,168	267
Cavite	102,198	31,419	44,838	18,869	21,103	12,430	22,675	12,793	7,133	882	231
Cebu	439,927	176,571	263,735	142,451	148,813	54,159	56,922	38,250	19,741	1,601	506
Cotabato	1,768	688	634	650	498	18	36	427	169	123	26
Davao	11,831	4,735	5,231	4,229	4,023	486	1,163	1,945	621	50	54
Davao	14,880	6,594	6,873	6,332	6,285	302	688	1,015	358	115	54
Iloilo	122,321	42,997	62,187	35,069	44,192	7,828	17,495	13,865	3,272	2,218	514
Iloilo Norte	193,588	41,370	50,517	20,595	28,572	10,545	21,145	16,966	4,445	2,165	564

TABLE VII
Civilized population of Philippines, classified by grand groups of occupations and sex

PROVINCE OR COMANDANTE	AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS		PROFESSIONAL SERVICES		DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICES		TRADE AND TRANSPORTATION		MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL PRODUCTS		NOT GAINTUL, OR UNKNOWN	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS	1,163,777	90,285	23,338	2,279	431,388	140,557	150,389	75,966	243,081	716,589	1,484,039	2,465,747
Abra	8,460	105	168	17	801	254	249	262	621	4,969	8,337	13,690
Albay	30,497	1,990	841	78	28,068	4,618	3,307	626	3,960	23,331	61,935	90,335
Amboyan	20,294	812	1,005	91	32,392	5,288	4,363	641	9,091	23,168	48,834	87,345
Antique	11,692	179	871	62	16,554	3,533	879	146	2,133	19,839	30,706	45,138
Batavia	2,905	1	8	3	1,208	87	61	6	83	71	190	438
Batavia	2,903	387	138	19	8,268	2,313	492	1,737	4,738	627	9,094	17,349
Batangas	84,790	1,330	634	46	9,111	3,790	5,079	3,731	6,398	43,485	46,713	82,736
Benguet	221	19	40	2	1,123	68	41	4	72	88	113	131
Bohol	44,859	326	474	82	6,693	967	5,702	285	8,051	6,580	65,533	120,641
Bulacan	35,467	1,445	870	69	24,151	10,827	3,643	8,437	10,825	14,640	44,014	78,948
Cagayan	33,496	331	331	20	8,700	2,077	2,338	587	1,804	4,590	28,135	38,948
Cajup	30,722	864	621	25	24,533	10,293	1,702	628	7,405	33,305	47,204	71,430
Cavite	22,901	423	745	48	6,180	2,430	3,254	4,647	8,617	13,293	24,852	47,423
Cebu	113,039	2,829	1,444	194	26,191	9,044	9,429	8,420	16,871	77,730	157,065	290,191
Cotabato	265	17	144	2	581	56	273	2	163	300	300	830
Davao	4,112	632	60	8	596	363	83	2	129	1,206	3,919	6,244
Davao Norte	4,465	186	30	7	707	707	131	5	328	713	819	1,116
Ilocos Norte	42,185	1,886	612	32	1,712	964	806	482	2,311	32,267	56,735	87,043
Ilocos Sur	27,415	1,534	560	65	10,485	1,654	2,973	711	6,045	21,863	35,941	64,567
Iloilo	83,423	1,950	1,190	146	33,769	7,369	11,036	1,508	16,900	56,506	81,636	136,670
Isabela	13,764	13,453	376	13	1,338	702	971	1,33	16,900	56,506	81,636	136,670
Jolo	4	4	17	1	267	22	292	7	73	268	12,969	18,077

TABLES FROM THE PHILIPPINE CENSUS

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	20,741	3,691	728	48	11,162	5,945	4,010	5,137	10,026	5,409	25,651	55,058
La Laguna	21,730	3,523	483	30	6,521	1,175	831	286	3,302	21,570	29,688	42,226
La Union	70,349	1,368	1,111	101	12,018	5,682	6,345	2,827	7,515	42,594	29,688	42,226
Leyte	2,605	88	2,527	481	36,060	11,784	41,020	3,759	21,191	13,075	51,814	138,232
Manila city	2,109	88	135	19	6,632	331	406	57	528	5,671	21,822	59,114
Marinduque	2,576	78	144	9	2,488	532	629	205	1,655	4,355	12,182	20,341
Maestro ..	2,570	82	142	11	1,317	687	840	169	777	7,006	16,312	16,312
Mindoro	29,201	411	250	11	5,955	2,202	1,739	478	2,565	9,336	9,336	9,336
Misamis	67,822	1,737	523	59	21,766	4,264	6,788	1,138	12,430	27,888	30,830	108,005
Negros Occidental	30,467	659	350	56	15,323	4,068	1,601	789	3,471	24,440	41,048	62,583
Negros Oriental	30,018	2,369	457	19	4,065	4,272	1,518	4,250	2,468	8,385	28,403	50,765
Nueva Bula	4,396	21	131	6	343	87	71	6	88	289	3,067	7,026
Nueva Vizcaya	34,002	4,646	896	62	5,501	7,050	6,362	8,787	18,416	16,021	43,949	75,343
Pampanga	88,331	4,407	1,154	72	4,269	4,085	4,327	4,622	12,834	38,199	83,440	146,656
Pangasinan	4,799	1,366	48	11	1,307	513	899	21	524	1,761	6,080	10,494
Paragu	158	13	13	80	38	88	80	3	82	44	154	442
Paragu Sur	11,324	321	667	24	14,241	5,571	6,379	6,265	16,668	11,224	25,561	50,645
Rizal	10,365	679	240	14	1,308	1,431	474	46	587	7,361	13,043	16,940
Rizal	59,530	651	472	23	8,289	1,451	2,640	302	4,717	41,865	69,588	86,841
Rizal	4	1	1	62	3	3	97	1	10	1	61	66
Samar	13,385	119	482	34	14,366	1,022	2,104	221	3,235	11,853	27,625	45,438
Samar	21,685	2,547	828	37	3,170	1,327	274	48	1,461	6,787	23,412	37,812
Surigao	27,868	5,165	392	16	6,769	3,379	1,490	2,116	2,132	4,449	23,861	50,595
Tarlac	23,164	5,145	747	41	6,220	3,180	2,108	774	4,043	17,317	23,422	48,461
Tawi Tawi	16,664	1,095	423	19	6,716	2,033	944	422	3,196	8,217	22,865	38,298
Tyabas	3,381	25	115	22	1,164	364	802	4	626	291	4,685	9,223
Zambales												
Zamboanga												

* Exclusive of sub-province of Marikina

† Sub-province of Tayabas

TABLE VIII

Civilized population, classified by principal occupations (All occupations showing more than 5000 persons, exclusive of U. S. Army)

Farmers and Farm Laborers	1,236,327
Weavers and Spinners	560,906
Laborers not specified	384,400
Merchants	137,311
Fishermen	116,793
Laundresses	66,909
Seamstresses	65,285
Servants	54,523
Carpenters	38,230
Cooks	28,747
Sailors	23,027
Matmakers	22,272
Constabulary and Police	20,935
Distillers	15,379
Herdsmen	14,683
Coachmen	14,610
Tailors	14,201
Salesmen	13,165
Hatmakers	12,979
Clerks	12,360
Bagmakers	11,313
Cigarmakers	11,036
Boatmen	8,864
Musicians and Teachers of Music	8,661
Nipa-workers	7,349
Embroiderers	7,224
Potters	6,125
Government Officials	5,950
Teachers	5,362
Blacksmiths	5,185

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